



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**PART 9 OF 15**

**BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 8

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 19 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR001 CE PLAIN

1123AM URGENT 1-19-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P

2 BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

FORSYTH COUNTY SO, BACKED UP BY THE WINSTON-SALEM, NC, PD, SERVED EVICTION NOTICE ON JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR. AND THEREAFTER REMOVED BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) PROPERTY FROM SIXTEEN SIXTEEN E. TWENTYTHIRD STREET, WINSTON-SALEM, WITHOUT INCIDENT. NO ONE WAS AT THE HOUSE AT THE TIME SHERIFF'S OFFICERS ARRIVED AND CORNELL WAS WAITING ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE HOUSE. WHILE THE EVICTION WAS IN PROGRESS CORNELL WAS ARRESTED BY THE WINSTON-SALEM PD ON CHARGES OF LARCENY OF A TRUCK BELONGING TO THE CHATHAM MEAT CO. AND A WARRANT CHARGING THE SAME OFFENSE IS ALSO OUTSTANDING AGAINST LARRY CONNELL LITTLE.

PAGE ONE

REC-54

EX-111

54 FEB 8 1971

FEB 2 1971

105-165706-8-402

CE 157-6171

PAGE THREE

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU JANUARY TWELVE SEVENTY-ONE  
AND NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO CHARLOTTE JANUARY TWELVE SEVENTY-  
ONE.

NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL INDICATED RECEIPT OF INFORMATION  
BY NEW YORK SOURCE THAT PANTHER HEADQUARTERS, WINSTON-SALEM,  
N.C., HAD BEEN RAIDED AND QUOTE A BROTHER NEXT DOOR UNQUOTE  
HAD BEEN SHOT. IT IS NOTED THE INDIVIDUAL NEXT DOOR, WILLIAM  
COE, WAS ARRESTED; HOWEVER, NO INFORMATION RECEIVED OF ANY  
INJURIES OCCURRING.

NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO BY ALERT FOR INFORMATION FROM  
SOURCES RE ABOVE DEVELOPEMENTS.

CHARLOTTE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP THE BUREAU ADVISED  
OF PERTINENT DEVELOPEMENTS.

END. P.

MGS FBI WASHDC

TU CLR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,  
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA  
RM - BPP

DATE: 1/29/71

Re Savannah letter to Bureau, 1/27/71.

Charlotte has no information which might indicate the rifle has evidentiary value.

2-Bureau (105-165706) (RM)  
2-Savannah (157-1430) (RM)  
2-Charlotte (157-6171)

THG:fc  
(6)

ST 104

REC 19

105-165706-8-401

12 FEB 1 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F.163  
60 FEB 5 1971



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 1/14/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of LHM  
in captioned matter, copies of which have been disseminated locally  
to Military Intelligence Agencies and Secret Service.

Enclosed for the New York Office are three (3) copies of  
LHM captioned as above.

Source is [REDACTED] by request.

SA [REDACTED] who furnished his information to [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

- ② Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM) 1-700  
3 - New York (1 - BPP) (RM) 3-destroyed  
(Encs. 3)

- 4 Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)

CC:egp  
(9)

AGENCY: ~~ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC SER~~

DEPT ISD: GRD-~~ICIA~~

DATE FORW: JAN 20 1971

HOW FORW: [REDACTED]  
BY: [REDACTED]

REC-105-165706-8-400

JAN 18 1971

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 FEB 22 1971



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No

Charlotte, North Carolina  
January 14, 1971

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

B. APPROX. 1971

The Thursday, January 7, 1971, "Daily Tar Heel", a student newspaper of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, contained an article reflecting RICHARD MOORE, Black Panther Party (BPP) spokesman and one of the "New York 21 conspirators", will speak Friday, January 8, 1971, in the Political Science 95 A Class. N

Class members had requested that a Black Panther and someone involved in the conspiracy trial speak before the class and MOORE accepted the invitation.

The article reflected MOORE and 20 others were indicted April 2, 1970, on charges of plotting to set off bombs in five mid-town New York department stores, plotting to dynamite the tracks of the Penn Central Railroad and plotting to bomb a Bronx, New York, police station.

Presiding New York State Supreme Court Justice JOHN M. MURTAGH set bail for the 21 at \$100,000 each.

Only 11 of the 21 will undergo trial because the remainder are underage.

Their lawyer, GERALD B. LEFCOURT said the indictment was an attack on the Black panthers directed from Washington.

The item reflected MOORE is 25 years of age and is one of three of the 21 presently free on bond, as no bondsman would touch the case and the party was unable to bail all of them out.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE 1-14-71 4

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

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On January 11, 1971 a source reported that on January 8, 1971, ZAID SHAKUR, Deputy Minister of Information of the New York State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, appeared before approximately 1,000 persons gathered for Political Science Class 95A, at the University of North Carolina (UNC).

SHAKUR replaced RICHARD MOORE, the speaker originally scheduled, as MOORE reportedly was unable to attend because of legal entanglements. SHAKUR was introduced by LARRY LITTLE, Chairman of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), which is closely allied with the BPP. He was flanked on three sides by five Panther bodyguards. By the time he had completed approximately half of his speech, the audience had dwindled, to less than 500.

SHAKUR spoke about the BPP, indicating that the membership had been virtually closed since 1969 and continued to be under a purge. He spoke about the 450 year history of the black man and his racial and economic exploitations, but indicated that everything was subject to change. He indicated no more Panthers were going to jail, claiming they were dying anyhow and it did not make any difference how, indicating they were being shot down in the streets by the gestapo pig forces. He indicated that Jesus had been busted for anarchy when he was trying to overthrow an imperialist government.

SHAKUR claimed the party's current motto, survival to service of the people, was exemplified by the Black Panthers program to provide clothing and transportation and other services needed by the black people in the communities and their sponsorship of free breakfast programs. He indicated the Black Panthers did not consider all black people good, and indicated there were black pigs, including the mayor of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He referred to the American society as "Babylon" indicating the United States legal system represented maximum security to the Black Panthers and he indicated NIXON was the number one warden.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

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On January 11, 1971, [REDACTED] made available a copy of a pamphlet on Urban Guerilla Warfare being sold at this meeting, which is as follows:

~~X~~ MINIMANUAL

OF THE

URBAN GUERRILLA

- Booklet

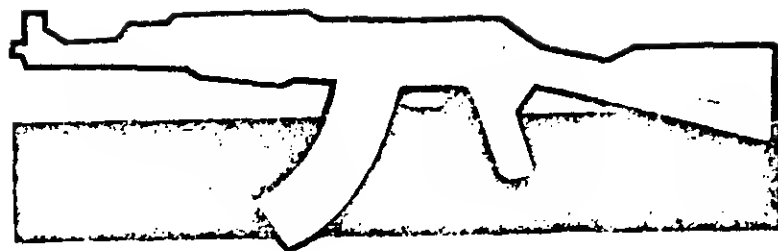
by  
~~X~~ Carlos Marighella

Brazil

Approx 1930's

deceased 11-4-69

NEW WORLD  
LIBERATION FRONT  
U.S.A.  
1970



starting  
points

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## Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

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Carlos Marighella

On Tuesday, November 4, 1969, Carlos Marighella fell, assassinated in São Paulo. On that day, two lives were simultaneously interrupted: the life of a man who for close to 40 years had been shaped in opposing reaction, in public or clandestine struggle against the dominant system; and that of the urban guerrilla hounded by implecable persecution, killed in an ambush just as he is at the point of beginning rural guerrilla warfare, the next step in his liberation cycle.

Marighella had the merit of making valuable contributions to the revolutionary cause in both theory and practice. During the last years of his life, as a parallel to the action he undertook, he wrote intensively to support his theories about the liberation of Brazil.

Among his writings, his *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* which Tricontinental offers in its pages, has a special importance. The work examines exhaustively the conditions, characteristics, necessities, and methods of the guerrilla war and the urban guerrillas, broadly demonstrating his sense of detail, of organization, and his mental clarity. It also shows, in passing, that Marighella was endowed with inexhaustible confidence and affection for man, and with a youthfulness that negated his 58 years and death.

For the experiences it turns over in its pages and for its detailed foresight, the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* will become one of the principal books of every man who, as a consequence of the inevitable battle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, takes the road of armed rebellion.

#### **By Way of Introduction**

I WOULD LIKE to make a twofold dedication of this work: first to the memories of Edson Souto, Marco Antonio Brás de Carvalho, Nelson José de Almeida ("Escaleiro"), and so many other heroic fighters and urban guerrillas who fell at the hands of assassins of the Military Police, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the DOPS,<sup>1</sup> hated instruments of the repressive military dictatorship.

Second, to the brave comrades — men and women — imprisoned in the medieval dungeons of the Brazilian Government and subjected to tortures that even surpass the horrendous crimes practiced by the Nazis.

Like those comrades whose memory we revere, as well as those taken prisoner in battle, what we must do is fight.

Each comrade who opposes the military dictatorship and wants to fight it can do something, however insignificant the task may seem.

I urge all who read this minimanual and reach the conclusion that they cannot remain inactive, to follow its instructions and join the fight now. I do so because, under whatever hypothesis and in whatever circumstances, the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution.

Another important problem is not merely to read the minimanual here and now, but to circulate its contents. This circulation will be possible if those who agree with its ideas make mimeographed copies or print it in a pamphlet, though in this latter case, armed struggle itself will be necessary.

Finally, the reason that the present minimanual bears my signature, is that the ideas expressed or systematized here reflect the personal experience of a group of men engaged in armed struggle in Brazil, among whom I have the honor to be included. So that certain individuals will have no doubt about what this minimanual proclaims and can no longer deny the facts or continue to state that the conditions for the struggle do not exist, it is necessary to assume responsibility for what is said and done. Hence anonymity becomes a problem in a work such as this. The important fact is that there are patriots prepared to fight like ordinary soldiers, and the more there are the better.

The accusation of assault or terrorism no longer has the pejorative meaning it used to have. It has acquired new clothing, a new coloration. It does not factionalize, it does not discredit; on the contrary it represents a focal point of attraction.

Today to be an assailant or a terrorist is a quality that ennobles any honorable man because it is an act worthy of a revolutionary engaged in armed struggle against the shameful military dictatorship and its monstrosities.

#### **A Definition of the Urban Guerrilla**

The chronic structural crisis characteristic of Brazil today, and its resultant political instability, are what have brought about the upsurge of revolutionary war in the country. The revolutionary war manifests itself in the form of urban guerrilla warfare, psychological warfare,

<sup>1</sup> Department of Public and Social Order. (Editor's note)

or rural guerrilla warfare. Urban guerrilla warfare or psychological warfare in the city depends on the urban guerrilla.

The urban guerrilla is a man who fights the military dictatorship with arms, using unconventional methods. A political revolutionary and an ardent patriot, he is a fighter for his country's liberation, a friend of the people and of freedom. The area in which the urban guerrilla acts is in the large Brazilian cities. There are also bandits, commonly known as outlaws, who work in the big cities. Many times assaults by outlaws are taken as actions by urban guerrillas.

The urban guerrilla, however, differs radically from the outlaw. The outlaw benefits personally from the action, and attacks indiscriminately without distinguishing between the exploited and the exploiters, which is why there are so many ordinary men and women among his victims. The urban guerrilla follows a political goal and only attacks the government, the big capitalists, and the foreign imperialists, particularly North Americans.

Another element just as prejudicial as the outlaw and also operating in the urban area is the right-wing counterrevolutionary who creates confusion, assaults banks, hurls bombs, kidnaps, assassinates, and commits the worst imaginable crimes against urban guerrillas, revolutionary priests, students, and citizens who oppose fascism and seek liberty.

The urban guerrilla is an implacable enemy of the government and systematically inflicts damage on the authorities and on the men who dominate the country and exercise power. The principal task of the urban guerrilla is to distract, to wear out, to demoralize the militarists, the military dictatorship and its repressive forces, and also to attack and destroy the wealth and property of the North Americans, the foreign managers, and the Brazilian upper class.

The urban guerrilla is not afraid of dismantling and destroying the present Brazilian economic, political, and social system, for his aim is to help the rural guerrilla and to collaborate in the creation of a totally new and revolutionary social and political structure, with the armed people in power.

The urban guerrilla must have a certain minimal political understanding. To gain that he must read certain printed or mimeographed works such as:

*Guerrilla Warfare* by Che Guevara

*Memories of a Terrorist*

*Some Questions about the Brazilian*

*Guerrilla Operations and Tactics*

*On Strategic Problems and Principles*

*Certain Tactical Principles for Comrades Undertaking*

*Guerrilla Operations*

*Organizational Questions*

*O Guerrilheiro*, newspaper of the Brazilian revolutionary groups.

#### **Personal Qualities of the Urban Guerrilla**

The urban guerrilla is characterized by his bravery and decisive nature. He must be a good tactician and a good shot. The urban



guerrilla must be a person of great astuteness to compensate for the fact that he is not sufficiently strong in arms, ammunition, and equipment.

The career militarists or the government police have modern arms and transport, and can go about anywhere freely, using the force of their power. The urban guerrilla does not have such resources at his disposal and leads a clandestine existence. Sometimes he is a convicted person or is out on parole, and is obliged to use false documents.

Nevertheless, the urban guerrilla has a certain advantage over the conventional military or the police. It is that, while the military and the police act on behalf of the enemy, whom the people hate, the urban guerrilla defends a just cause, which is the people's cause.

The urban guerrilla's arms are inferior to the enemy's, but from a moral point of view, the urban guerrilla has an undeniable superiority.

This moral superiority is what sustains the urban guerrilla. Thanks to it, the urban guerrilla can accomplish his principal duty, which is to attack and to survive.

The urban guerrilla has to capture or divert arms from the enemy to be able to fight. Because his arms are not uniform, since what he has are expropriated or have fallen into his hands in different ways, the urban guerrilla faces the problem of a variety of arms and a shortage of ammunition. Moreover, he has no place to practice shooting and marksmanship.

These difficulties have to be surmounted, forcing the urban guerrilla to be imaginative and creative, qualities without which it would be impossible for him to carry out his role as a revolutionary.

The urban guerrilla must possess initiative, mobility, and flexibility, as well as versatility and a command of any situation. Initiative especially is an indispensable quality. It is not always possible to foresee everything, and the urban guerrilla cannot let himself become confused, or wait for orders. His duty is to act, to find adequate solutions for each problem he faces, and not to retreat. It is better to err acting than to do nothing for fear of erring. Without initiative there is no urban guerrilla warfare.

Other important qualities in the urban guerrilla are the following: to be a good walker, to be able to stand up against fatigue, hunger, rain, heat. To know how to hide and to be vigilant. To conquer the art of dissembling. Never to fear danger. To behave the same by day as by night. Not to act impetuously. To have unlimited patience. To remain calm and cool in the worst conditions and situations. Never to leave a track or trail. Not to get discouraged.

In the face of the almost insurmountable difficulties of urban warfare, sometimes comrades weaken, leave, give up the work.

The urban guerrilla is not a businessman in a commercial firm nor is he a character in a play. Urban guerrilla warfare, like rural guerrilla warfare, is a pledge the guerrilla makes to himself. When he

cannot face the difficulties, or knows that he lacks the patience to wait, then it is better to relinquish his role before he betrays his pledge, for he clearly lacks the basic qualities necessary to be a guerrilla.

#### **How the Urban Guerrilla Lives and Subsists**

The urban guerrilla must know how to live among the people and must be careful not to appear strange and separated from ordinary city life.

He should not wear clothes that are different from those that other people wear. Elaborate and high fashion clothing for men or women may often be a handicap if the urban guerrilla's mission takes him into working class neighborhoods or sections where such dress is uncommon. The same care has to be taken if the urban guerrilla moves from the South to the North or vice versa.

The urban guerrilla must live by his work or professional activity. If he is known and sought by the police, if he is convicted or is on parole, he must go underground and sometimes must live hidden. Under such circumstances, the urban guerrilla cannot reveal his activity to anyone, since that is always and only the responsibility of the revolutionary organization in which he is participating.

The urban guerrilla must have a great capacity for observation, must be well informed about everything, principally about the enemy's movements, and must be very searching and knowledgeable about the area in which he lives, operates, or through which he moves.

But the fundamental and decisive characteristic of the urban guerrilla is that he is a man who fights with arms; given this condition, there is very little likelihood that he will be able to follow his normal profession for long without being identified. The role of expropriation thus looms as clear as high noon. It is impossible for the urban guerrilla to exist and survive without fighting to expropriate.

Thus, within the framework of the class struggle, as it inevitably and necessarily sharpens, the armed struggle of the urban guerrilla points toward two essential objectives:

- a) the physical liquidation of the chiefs and assistants of the armed forces and of the police;
- b) the expropriation of government resources and those belonging to the big capitalists, latifundists, and imperialists, with small expropriations used for the maintenance of individual urban guerrillas and large ones for the sustenance of the revolution itself.

It is clear that the armed struggle of the urban guerrilla also has other objectives. But here we are referring to the two basic objectives, above all expropriation. It is necessary for every urban guerrilla to keep in mind always that he can only maintain his existence if he is disposed to kill the police and those dedicated to repression, and if he is determined — truly determined — to expropriate the wealth of the big capitalists, the latifundists, and the imperialists.

6 One of the fundamental characteristics of the Brazilian revolution

is that from the beginning it developed around the expropriation of the wealth of the major bourgeois, imperialist, and latifundist interests, without excluding the richest and most powerful commercial elements engaged in the import-export business.

And by expropriating the wealth of the principal enemies of the people, the Brazilian revolution was able to hit them at their vital center, with preferential and systematic attacks on the banking network — that is to say, the most telling blows were leveled against capitalism's nerve system.

The bank robberies carried out by the Brazilian urban guerrillas hurt such big capitalists as Moreira Salles and others, the foreign firms which insure and reinsure the banking capital, the imperialist companies, the federal and state governments — all of them systematically expropriated as of now.

The fruit of these expropriations has been devoted to the work of learning and perfecting urban guerrilla techniques, the purchase, the production, and the transportation of arms and ammunition for the rural areas, the security apparatus of the revolutionaries, the daily maintenance of the fighters, of those who have been liberated from prison by armed force and those who are wounded or persecuted by the police, or to any kind of problem concerning comrades liberated from jail, or assassinated by the police and the military dictatorship.

The tremendous costs of the revolutionary war must fall on the big capitalists, on imperialism, and the latifundists and on the government too, both federal and state, since they are all exploiters and oppressors of the people.

Men of the government, agents of the dictatorship and of North American imperialism principally, must pay with their lives for the crimes committed against the Brazilian people.

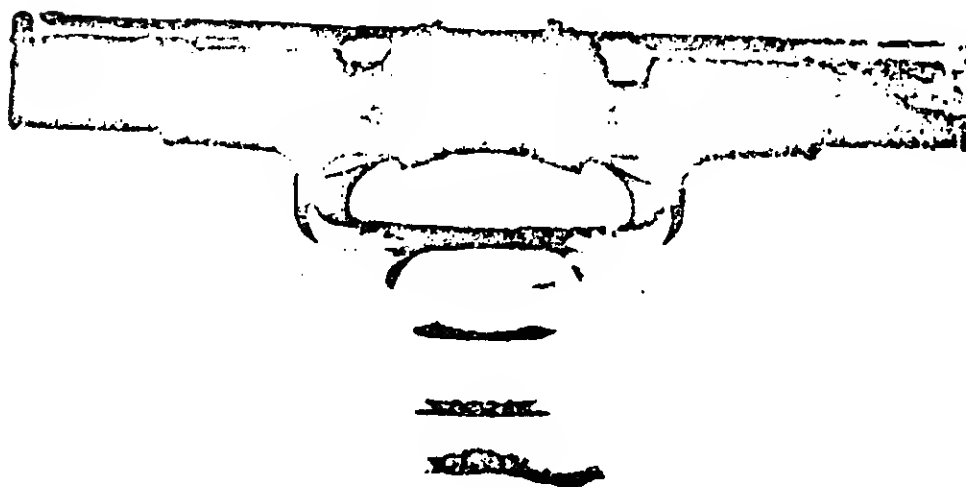
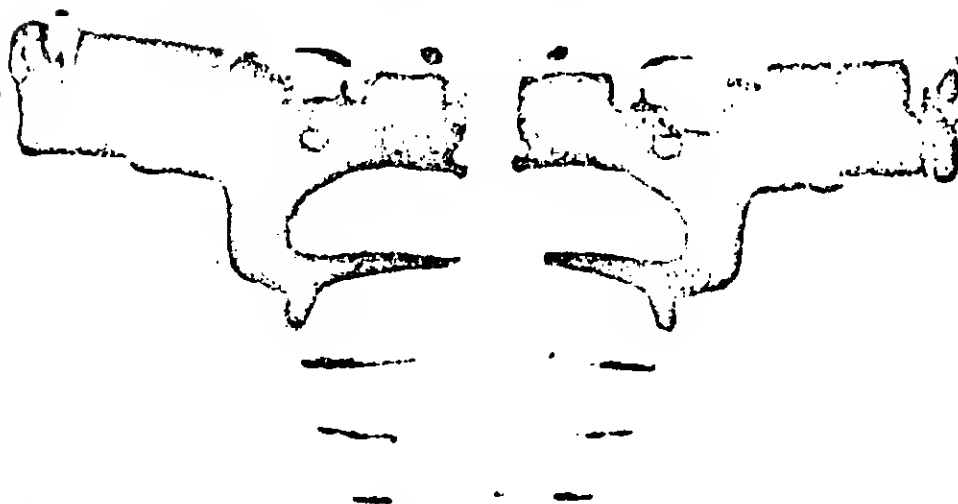
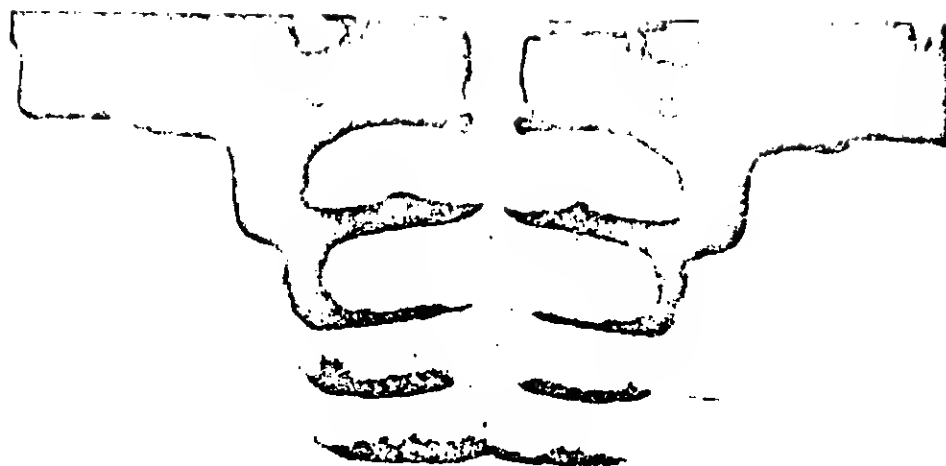
In Brazil, the number of violent actions carried out by urban guerrillas, including deaths, explosions, seizures of arms, ammunition, and explosives, assaults on banks and prisons, etc., is significant enough to leave no room for doubt as to the actual aims of the revolutionaries. The execution of the CIA spy Charles Chandler, a member of the US Army who came from the war in Viet-Nam to infiltrate the Brazilian student movement, the military henchmen killed in bloody encounters with urban guerrillas, all are witness to the fact that we are in full revolutionary war and that the war can be waged only by violent means.

This is the reason why the urban guerrilla uses armed struggle and why he continues to concentrate his activity on the physical extermination of the agents of repression, and to dedicate twenty-four hours a day to expropriation from the people's exploiters.

#### Technical Preparation of the Urban Guerrilla

No one can become an urban guerrilla without paying special attention to technical preparation.

The technical preparation of the urban guerrilla runs from the concern for his physical preparedness, to knowledge of and appren-



tieship in professions and skills of all kinds, particularly manual skills.

The urban guerrilla can have strong physical resistance only if he trains systematically. He cannot be a good fighter if he has not learned the art of fighting. For that reason the urban guerrilla must learn and practice various kinds of fighting, of attack, and personal defense.

Other useful forms of physical preparation are hiking, camping, and practice in survival in the woods, mountain climbing, rowing, swimming, skin diving, training as a frogman, fishing, harpooning, and the hunting of birds, small and big game.

It is very important to learn how to drive, pilot a plane, handle a motor boat and a sail boat, understand mechanics, radio, telephone, electricity, and have some knowledge of electronic techniques.

It is also important to have a knowledge of topographical information, to be able to locate one's position by instruments or other available resources, to calculate distances, make maps and plans, draw to scale, make timings, work with an angle protractor, a compass, etc.

A knowledge of chemistry and of color combination, of stamp-making, the domination of the technique of calligraphy and the copying of letters and other skills are part of the technical preparation of the urban guerrilla, who is obliged to falsify documents in order to live within a society that he seeks to destroy.

In the area of auxiliary medicine he has the special role of being a doctor or understanding medicine, nursing, pharmacology, drugs, elemental surgery, and emergency first aid.

The basic question in the technical preparation of the urban guerrilla is nevertheless to know how to handle arms such as the machine gun, revolver, automatic, FAL, various types of shotguns, carbines, mortars, bazookas, etc.

A knowledge of various types of ammunition and explosives is another aspect to consider. Among the explosives, dynamite must be well understood. The use of incendiary bombs, of smoke bombs, and other types are indispensable prior knowledge.

To know how to make and repair arms, prepare Molotov cocktails, grenades, mines, homemade destructive devices, how to blow up bridges, tear up and put out of service rails and sleepers, these are requisites in the technical preparation of the urban guerrilla that can never be considered unimportant.

The highest level of preparation for the urban guerrilla is the center for technical training. But only the guerrilla who has already passed the preliminary examination can go on to this school — that is to say, one who has passed the proof of fire in revolutionary action, in actual combat against the enemy.

#### **The Urban Guerrilla's Arms**

The urban guerrilla's arms are light arms, easily exchanged, usually captured from the enemy, purchased, or made on the spot.

Light arms have the advantage of fast handling and easy transport. In general, light arms are characterized as short barreled. This includes many automatic arms.

Automatic and semiautomatic arms considerably increase the fighting power of the urban guerrilla. The disadvantage of this type of arm for us is the difficulty in controlling it, resulting in wasted rounds or in a prodigious use of ammunition, compensated for only by optimal aim and firing precision. Men who are poorly trained convert automatic weapons into an ammunition drain.

Experience has shown that the basic arm of the urban guerrilla is the light machine gun. This arm, in addition to being efficient and easy to shoot in an urban area, has the advantage of being greatly respected by the enemy. The guerrilla must know thoroughly how to handle the machine gun, now so popular and indispensable to the Brazilian urban guerrilla.

The ideal machine gun for the urban guerrilla is the Ina 45 calibre. Other types of machine guns of different calibres can be used — understanding, of course, the problem of ammunition. Thus it is preferable that the industrial potential of the urban guerrilla permit the production of a single machine gun so that the ammunition used can be standardized.

Each firing group of urban guerrillas must have a machine gun managed by a good marksman. The other components of the group must be armed with .38 revolvers, our standard arm. The .32 is also useful for those who want to participate. But the .38 is preferable since its impact usually puts the enemy out of action.

Hand grenades and conventional smoke bombs can be considered light arms, with defensive power for cover and withdrawal.

Long barrel arms are more difficult for the urban guerrilla to transport and attract much attention because of their size. Among the long barrel arms are the FAL, the Mauser guns or rifles, hunting guns such as the Winchester, and others.

Shotguns can be useful if used at close range and point blank. They are useful even for a poor shot, especially at night when precision isn't much help. A pressure airgun can be useful for training in marksmanship. Bazookas and mortars can also be used in action but the conditions for using them have to be prepared and the people who use them must be trained.

The urban guerrilla should not try to base his actions on the use of heavy arms, which have major drawbacks in a type of fighting that demands lightweight weapons to insure mobility and speed.

Homemade weapons are often as efficient as the best arms produced in conventional factories, and even a cut-off shotgun is a good arm for the urban guerrilla.

The urban guerrilla's role as gunsmith has a fundamental importance. As gunsmith he takes care of the arms, knows how to repair them, and in many cases can set up a small shop for improvising and producing efficient small arms.

Work in metallurgy and on the mechanical lathe are basic skills the urban guerrilla should incorporate into his industrial planning, which is the construction of homemade weapons.

This construction and courses in explosives and sabotage must be organized. The primary materials for practice in these courses must be obtained ahead of time to prevent an incomplete apprenticeship that is to say, so as to leave no room for experimentation.

Molotov cocktails, gasoline, homemade contrivances such as catapults and mortars for firing explosives, grenades made of tubes and cans, smoke bombs, mines, conventional explosives such as dynamite and potassium chloride, plastic explosives, gelatine capsules, ammunition of every kind are indispensable to the success of the urban guerrilla's mission.

The method of obtaining the necessary materials and munitions will be to buy them or to take them by force in expropriation actions especially planned and carried out.

The urban guerrilla will be careful not to keep explosives and materials that can cause accidents around for very long, but will try always to use them immediately on their destined targets.

The urban guerrilla's arms and his ability to maintain them constitute his fire power. By taking advantage of modern arms and introducing innovations in his fire power and in the use of certain arms, the urban guerrilla can change many of the tactics of city warfare. An example of this was the innovation made by the urban guerrillas in Brazil when they introduced the machine gun in their attacks on banks.

When the massive use of uniform machine guns becomes possible, there will be new changes in urban guerrilla warfare tactics. The firing group that utilizes uniform weapons and corresponding ammunition, with reasonable support for their maintenance, will reach a considerable level of efficiency. The urban guerrilla increases his efficiency as he improves his firing potential.

#### **The Shot: the Urban Guerrilla's Reason for Existence**

The urban guerrilla's reason for existence, the basic condition in which he acts and survives, is to shoot. The urban guerrilla must know how to shoot well because it is required by his type of combat.

In conventional warfare combat is generally at a distance with long range arms. In unconventional warfare, in which urban guerrilla warfare is included, the combat is at close range, often very close. To prevent his own extinction, the urban guerrilla has to shoot first and he cannot err in his shot. He cannot waste his ammunition because he doesn't have large amounts, so he must save it. Nor can he replace his ammunition quickly, since he is part of a small group in which each guerrilla has to take care of himself. The urban guerrilla can lose no time and must be able to shoot at once.

One fundamental fact, which we want to emphasize fully and



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whose particular importance cannot be overestimated, is that the urban guerrilla must not fire continuously, using up his ammunition. It may be that the enemy is not responding to the fire precisely because he is waiting until the guerrilla's ammunition is used up. At such a moment, without having time to replace his ammunition, the urban guerrilla faces a rain of enemy fire and can be taken prisoner or be killed.

In spite of the value of the surprise factor which many times makes it unnecessary for the urban guerrilla to use his arms, he cannot be allowed the luxury of entering combat without knowing how to shoot. And face to face with the enemy, he must always be moving from one position to another, because to stay in one position makes him a fixed target and, as such, very vulnerable.

The urban guerrilla's life depends on shooting, on his ability to handle his arms well and to avoid being hit. When we speak of shooting, we speak of marksmanship, as well. Shooting must be learned until it becomes a reflex action on the part of the urban guerrilla.

To learn how to shoot and to have good aim, the urban guerrilla must train himself systematically, utilizing every apprenticeship method, shooting at targets, even in amusement parks and at home.

Shooting and marksmanship are the urban guerrilla's water and air. His perfection of the art of shooting makes him a special type of urban guerrilla — that is, a sniper, a category of solitary combatant indispensable in isolated actions. The sniper knows how to shoot, at close range and at long range, and his arms are appropriate for either type of shooting.

#### **The Firing Group**

In order to function, the urban guerrillas must be organized in small groups. A group of no more than four or five is called the *firing group*.

A minimum of two firing groups, separated and sealed off from other firing groups, directed and coordinated by one or two persons, this is what makes a *firing team*.

Within the firing group there must be complete confidence among the comrades. The best shot and the one who best knows how to manage the machine gun is the person in charge of operations.

The firing group plans and executes urban guerrilla actions, obtains and guards arms, studies and corrects its own tactics.

When there are tasks planned by the strategic command, these tasks take preference. But there is no such thing as a firing group without its own initiative. For this reason it is essential to avoid any rigidity in the organization in order to permit the greatest possible initiative on the part of the firing group. The old-type hierarchy, the style of the traditional left doesn't exist in our organization.

This means that, except for the priority of objectives set by the strategic command, any firing group can decide to assault a bank, to kidnap or to execute an agent of the dictatorship, a figure identified

with the reaction, or a North American spy and can carry out any kind of propaganda or war of nerves against the enemy without the need to consult the general command.

No firing group can remain inactive waiting for orders from above. Its obligation is to act. Any single urban guerrilla who wants to establish a firing group and begin action can do so and thus become a part of the organization.

This method of action eliminates the need for knowing who is carrying out which actions, since there is free initiative and the only important point is to increase substantially the volume of urban guerrilla activity in order to wear out the government—and force it onto the defensive.

The firing group is the instrument of organized action. Within it, guerrilla operations and tactics are planned, launched, and carried through to success.

The general command counts on the firing groups to carry out objectives of a strategic nature, and to do so in any part of the country. For its part, it helps the firing groups with their difficulties and their needs.

The organization is an indestructible network of firing groups, and of coordinations among them, that functions simply and practically with a general command that also participates in the attacks; an organization which exists for no purpose other than pure and simple revolutionary action.

#### The Logistics of the Urban Guerrilla

Conventional logistics can be expressed by the formula CCEM:

C — food (*comida*)

C — fuel (*combustivel*)

E — equipment

M — ammunition (*munições*)

Conventional logistics refer to the maintenance problems for an army or a regular armed force, transported in vehicles with fixed bases and supply lines.

Urban guerrillas, on the contrary, are not an army but small armed groups, intentionally fragmented. They have no vehicles nor fixed bases. Their supply lines are precarious and insufficient, and have no established base except in the rudimentary sense of an arms factory within a house.

While the goal of conventional logistics is to supply the war needs of the gorillas to be used to repress urban and rural rebellion, urban guerrilla logistics aim at sustaining operations and tactics which have nothing in common with a conventional war and are directed against the military dictatorship and North American domination of the country.

For the urban guerrilla, who starts from nothing and has no support at the beginning, logistics are expressed by the formula MDAME which is:

M -- mechanization  
D -- money (*dinheiro*)  
A -- arms  
M -- ammunition (*munições*)  
E -- explosives

Revolutionary logistics takes mechanization as one of its bases. Nevertheless, mechanization is inseparable from the driver. The urban guerrilla driver is as important as the urban guerrilla machine gunner. Without either, the machines do not work, and as such the automobile like the machine gun becomes a dead thing. An experienced driver is not made in one day and the apprenticeship must begin early. Every good urban guerrilla must be a good driver. As to the vehicle, the urban guerrilla must expropriate what he needs.

When he already has resources, the urban guerrilla can combine the expropriation of vehicles with other methods of acquisition.

Money, arms, ammunition and explosives, and automobiles as well, must be expropriated. And the urban guerrilla must rob banks and armories and seize explosives and ammunition wherever he finds them.

None of these operations is undertaken for just one purpose. Even when the assault is for money, the arms that the guards bear must also be taken.

Expropriation is the first step in the organization of our logistics, which itself assumes an armed and permanently mobile character.

The second step is to reinforce and extend logistics, resorting to ambushes and traps in which the enemy will be surprised and his arms, ammunition, vehicles, and other resources can be captured.

Once he has the arms, ammunition, and explosives, one of the most serious logistics problems the urban guerrilla faces at any time and in any situation, is a hiding place in which to leave the material and appropriate means for transporting it and assembling it where it is needed. This has to be accomplished even when the enemy is on the lookout and has the roads blocked.

The knowledge that the urban guerrilla has of the terrain, and the devices he uses or is capable of using, such as guides especially prepared and recruited for this mission, are the basic elements in the solution of the eternal logistics problem the revolutionary faces.

#### **The Technique of the Urban Guerrilla**

In its most general sense, technique is the combination of methods man uses to carry out any activity. The activity of the urban guerrilla consists in waging guerrilla warfare and psychological warfare.

The urban guerrilla technique has five basic components:

- a) one part is related to the specific characteristics of the situation;
- b) one part is related to the requisites that match these characteristics, requisites represented by a series of initial advantages without which the urban guerrilla cannot achieve his objectives:

- c) one part concerns certain and definite objectives in the actions initiated by the urban guerrilla;
- d) one part is related to the types and characteristic modes of action for the urban guerrilla;
- e) one part is concerned with the urban guerrilla's method of carrying out his specific actions.

#### **Characteristics of the Urban Guerrilla's Technique**

The technique of the urban guerrilla has the following characteristics:

- a) it is an aggressive technique, or in other words, it has an offensive character. As is well known, defensive action means death for us. Since we are inferior to the enemy in fire power and have neither his resources nor his power force, we cannot defend ourselves against an offensive or a concentrated attack by the gorillas. And that is the reason why our urban technique can never be permanent, can never defend a fixed base nor remain in any one spot waiting to repel the circle of reaction;
- b) it is a technique of attack and retreat by which we preserve our forces;
- c) it is a technique that aims at the development of urban guerrilla warfare, whose function will be to wear out, demoralize, and distract the enemy forces, permitting the emergence and survival of rural guerrilla warfare which is destined to play the decisive role in the revolutionary war.

#### **The Initial Advantages of the Urban Guerrilla**

The dynamics of urban guerrilla warfare lie in the urban guerrilla's violent clash with the military and police forces of the dictatorship. In this clash, the police have the superiority. The urban guerrilla has inferior forces. The paradox is that the urban guerrilla, although weaker, is nevertheless the attacker.

The military and police forces, for their part, respond to the attack by mobilizing and concentrating infinitely superior forces in the persecution and destruction of the urban guerrilla. He can only avoid defeat if he counts on the initial advantages he has and knows how to exploit them to the end to compensate for his weaknesses and lack of matériel.

The initial advantages are:

- 1) he must take the enemy by surprise;
- 2) he must know the terrain of the encounter better than the enemy;
- 3) he must have greater mobility and speed than the police and the other repressive forces;
- 4) his information service must be better than the enemy's;
- 5) he must be in command of the situation and demonstrate a decisiveness so great that everyone on our side is inspired and never thinks of hesitating, while on the other side the enemy is stunned and incapable of responding.

### **Surprise**

To compensate for his general weakness and shortage of arms compared to the enemy, the urban guerrilla uses surprise. The enemy has no way to fight surprise and becomes confused or is destroyed.

When urban guerrilla warfare broke out in Brazil, experience proved that surprise was essential to the success of any urban guerrilla operation.

The technique of surprise is based on four essential requisites:

a) we know the situation of the enemy we are going to attack, usually by means of precise information and meticulous observation, while the enemy does not know he is going to be attacked and knows nothing about the attacker;

b) we know the force of the enemy that is going to be attacked and the enemy knows nothing about our force;

c) attacking by surprise, we save and conserve our forces, while the enemy is unable to do the same and is left at the mercy of events;

d) we determine the hour and the place of the attack, fix its duration, and establish its objective. The enemy remains ignorant of all this.

### **Knowledge of the Terrain**

The urban guerrilla's best ally is the terrain and because this is so he must know it like the palm of his hand.

To have the terrain as an ally means to know how to use with intelligence its unevenness, its high and its low points, its turns, its irregularities, its regular and its secret passages, abandoned areas, its thickets, etc., taking maximum advantage of all this for the success of armed actions, escapes, retreats, cover, and hiding places.

Its impasses and narrow spots, its gorges, its streets under repair, police control points, military zones and closed off streets, the entrances and exits of tunnels and those that the enemy can close off, viaducts to be crossed, corners controlled by the police or watched, its lights and signals, all this must be thoroughly known and studied in order to avoid fatal errors.

Our problem is to get through and to know where and how to hide, leaving the enemy bewildered in areas he doesn't know.

Familiar with the avenues, streets, alleys, ins and outs, and corners of the urban centers, its paths and shortcuts, its empty lots, its underground passages, its pipes and sewer system, the urban guerrilla safely crosses through the irregular and difficult terrain unfamiliar to the police, where they can be surprised in a fatal ambush or trapped at any moment.

Because he knows the terrain the guerrilla can go through it on foot, on bicycle, in automobile, jeep, or truck and never be trapped. Acting in small groups with only a few people, the guerrillas can reunite at an hour and place determined beforehand, following up the attack with new guerrilla operations, or evading the police circle and disorienting the enemy with their unprecedented audacity.

It is an insoluble problem for the police in the labyrinthian terrain of the urban guerrilla, to get someone they can't see, to repress someone they can't catch, to close in on someone they can't find.

Our experience is that the ideal urban guerrilla is one who operates in his own city and knows thoroughly its streets, its neighborhoods, its transit problems, and other peculiarities.

The guerrilla outsider, who comes to a city whose corners are unfamiliar to him, is a weak spot and if he is assigned certain operations, can endanger them. To avoid grave errors, it is necessary for him to get to know well the layout of the streets.

#### **Mobility and Speed**

To insure a mobility and speed that the police cannot match, the urban guerrilla needs the following prerequisites:

- a) mechanization;
- b) knowledge of the terrain;
- c) a rupture or suspension of enemy communications and transport;
- d) light arms.

By carefully carrying through operations that last only a few moments, and leaving the site in mechanized vehicles, the urban guerrilla beats a rapid retreat, escaping persecution.

The urban guerrilla must know the way in detail and, in this sense, must go through the schedule ahead of time as a training to avoid entering alleyways that have no exit, or running into traffic jams, or becoming paralyzed by the Transit Department's traffic signals.

The police pursue the urban guerrilla blindly without knowing which road he is using for his escape.

While the urban guerrilla quickly flees because he knows the terrain, the police lose the trail and give up the chase.

The urban guerrilla must launch his operations far from the logistics base of the police. An initial advantage of this method of operation is that it places us at a reasonable distance from the possibility of persecution, which facilitates the evasion.

In addition to this necessary precaution, the urban guerrilla must be concerned with the enemy's communication system. The telephone is the primary target in preventing the enemy from access to information by knocking out his communication system.

Even if he knows about the guerrilla operation, the enemy depends on modern transport for his logistics support, and his vehicles necessarily lose time carrying him through the heavy traffic of the large cities.

It is clear that the tangled and treacherous traffic is a disadvantage for the enemy, as it would be for us if we were not ahead of him.

If we want to have a safe margin of security and be certain to leave no tracks for the future, we can adopt the following methods:

- a) purposely intercept the police with other vehicles or by apparently casual inconveniences and damages; but in this case the vehicles in question should not be legal nor should they have real

license numbers;

b) obstruct the road with fallen trees, rocks, ditches, false traffic signs, dead ends or detours, and other ingenious methods;

c) place homemade mines in the way of the police, use gasoline, or throw Molotov cocktails to set their vehicles on fire;

d) set off a burst of machine gun fire or arms such as the FAL aimed at the motor and the tires of the cars engaged in pursuit.

With the arrogance typical of the police and the military fascist authorities, the enemy will come to fight us with heavy guns and equipment and with elaborate maneuvers by men armed to the teeth. The urban guerrilla must respond to this with light weapons easily transported, so he can always escape with maximum speed, without ever accepting open fighting. The urban guerrilla has no mission other than to attack and retreat.

We would leave ourselves open to the most stunning defeats if we burdened ourselves with heavy arms and with the tremendous weight of the ammunition necessary to fire them, at the same time losing our precious gift of mobility.

When the enemy fights against us with cavalry we are at no disadvantage as long as we are mechanized. The automobile goes faster than the horse. From within the car we also have the target of the mounted police, knocking him down with machine gun and revolver fire or with Molotov cocktails and grenades.

On the other hand, it is not so difficult for an urban guerrilla on foot to make a target of a policeman on horseback. Moreover, ropes across the streets, marbles, cork stoppers are very efficient methods of making them both fall. The great disadvantage of the mounted police is that he presents the urban guerrilla with two excellent targets: the horse and its rider.

Apart from being faster than the horseman, the helicopter has no better chance in persecution. If the horse is too slow compared to the urban guerrilla's automobile, the helicopter is too fast. Moving at 200 kilometers an hour it will never succeed in hitting from above a target lost among the crowds and the street vehicles, nor can it land in public streets in order to catch someone. At the same time, whenever it tries to fly low, it will be excessively vulnerable to the fire of the urban guerrilla.

#### Information

The possibilities that the government has for discovering and destroying the urban guerrillas lessen as the potential of the dictatorship's enemies becomes greater and more concentrated among the popular masses.

This concentration of opponents of the dictatorship plays a very important role in providing information as to moves on the part of the police and men in government, as well as in hiding our activities. The enemy can also be thrown off by false information, which is worse for him because it is a tremendous waste.

By whatever means, the sources of information at the disposal of

the urban guerrilla are potentially better than those of the police. The enemy is observed by the people, but he does not know who among the people transmits information to the urban guerrilla. The military and the police are hated for the injustices and violence they commit against the people, and this facilitates obtaining information prejudicial to the activities of government agents.

The information, which is only a small area of popular support, represents an extraordinary potential in the hands of the urban guerrilla. The creation of an intelligence service with an organized structure is a basic need for us. The urban guerrilla has to have essential information about the plans and movements of the enemy, where they are, and how they move, the resources of the banking network, the means of communication, and the secret moves the enemy makes.

The trustworthy information passed along to the urban guerrilla represents a well-aimed blow at the dictatorship. It has no way to defend itself in the face of an important leak that jeopardizes its interests and facilitates our destructive attack.

The enemy also wants to know what steps we are taking so he can destroy us or prevent us from acting. In this sense the danger of betrayal is present and the enemy encourages betrayal or infiltrates spies into the organization. The urban guerrilla's technique against this enemy tactic is to denounce publicly the traitors, spies, informers, and provocateurs.

Since our struggle takes place among the masses and depends on their sympathy — while the government has a bad reputation because of its brutality, corruption, and incompetence — the informers, spies, traitors, and the police come to be enemies of the people without supporters, denounced to the urban guerrillas, and, in many cases, properly punished.

For their part the urban guerrilla must not evade the duty — once he knows who the spy or informer is — of wiping him out physically. This is the correct method, approved by the people, and it minimizes considerably the incidence of infiltration or enemy spying.

For the complete success of the battle against spies and informers, it is essential to organize a counterespionage or counterintelligence service. Nevertheless, as far as information is concerned, it cannot all be reduced to a question of knowing the enemy's moves and avoiding the infiltration of spies. Information must be broad, it must embrace everything, including the most insignificant matters. There is a technique of obtaining information and the urban guerrilla must master it. Following this technique, information is obtained naturally, as a part of the life of the people.

The urban guerrilla, living in the midst of the people and moving about among them, must be attentive to all types of conversations and human relations, learning how to disguise his interest with great skill and judgment.

In places where people work, study, live, it is easy to collect all kinds of information on payments, business, plans of all types, points of view, opinions, people's state of mind, trips, interiors of buildings.

offices and rooms, operation centers, etc.

Observation, investigation, reconnaissance, and exploration of the terrain are also excellent sources of information. The urban guerrilla never goes anywhere absentmindedly and without revolutionary precaution, always on the lookout lest something occur. Eyes and ears open, senses alert, his memory engraved with everything necessary, now or in the future, to the uninterrupted activity of the fighter.

Careful reading of the press with particular attention to the organs of mass communication, the investigation of accumulated data, the transmission of news and everything of note, a persistence in being informed and in informing others, all this makes up the intricate and immensely complicated question of information which gives the urban guerrilla a decisive advantage.

#### **Decision**

It is not enough for the urban guerrilla to have in his favor surprise, speed, knowledge of the terrain, and information. He must also demonstrate his command of any situation and a capacity for decision without which all other advantages will prove useless.

It is impossible to carry out any action, however well planned, if the urban guerrilla turns out to be indecisive, uncertain, irresolute.

Even an action successfully begun can end in defeat if the command of the situation and the capacity for decision falter in the middle of the actual execution of the plan. When this command of the situation and a capacity for decision are absent, the void is filled with vacillation and terror. The enemy takes advantage of this failure and is able to liquidate us.

The secret for the success of any operation, simple or complicated, easy or difficult, is to rely on determined men. Strictly speaking, there are no easy operations. All must be carried out with the same care exercised in the case of the most difficult, beginning with the choice of the human element, which means relying on leadership and capacity for decision in every test.

One can see ahead of time whether an action will be successful or not by the way its participants act during the preparatory period. Those who are behind, who fail to make designated contacts, are easily confused, forget things, fail to complete the basic elements of the work, possibly are indecisive men and can be a danger. It is better not to include them.

Decision means to put into practice the plan that has been devised with determination, with audacity, and with an absolute firmness. It takes only one person who vacillates to lose all.

#### **Objectives of the Urban Guerrilla's Actions**

With his technique developed and established, the urban guerrilla bases himself on models of action leading to attack and, in Brazil, with the following objectives:

- a) to threaten the triangle in which the Brazilian state system and North American domination are maintained in Brazil, a triangle whose points are Rio, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte and whose

base is the axle Rio-São Paulo, where the giant industrial-financial-economic-political-cultural-military-police complex that holds the entire decisive power of the country is located;

b) to weaken the local guards or the security system of the dictatorship, given the fact that we are attacking and the gorillas defending, which means catching the government in a defensive position with its troops immobilized in defense of the entire complex of national maintenance, with its ever-present fears of an attack on its strategic nerve centers, and without ever knowing where, how, and when that attack will come;

c) to attack on every side with many different armed groups, few in number, each self-contained and operating separately, to disperse the government forces in their pursuit of a thoroughly fragmented organization instead of offering the dictatorship the opportunity to concentrate its forces of repression on the destruction of one tightly organized system operating throughout the country;

d) to give proof of its combativeness, decision, firmness, determination, and persistence in the attack on the military dictatorship in order to permit all malcontents to follow our example and fight with urban guerrilla tactics. Meanwhile, the government, with all its problems, incapable of halting guerrilla operations in the city, will lose time and suffer endless attrition and will finally be forced to pull back its repressive troops in order to mount guard over the banks, industries, armories, military barracks, prisons, public offices, radio and television stations, North American firms, gas storage tanks, oil refineries, ships, airplanes, ports, airports, hospitals, health centers, blood banks, stores, garages, embassies, residences of outstanding members of the regime, such as ministers and generals, police stations, and official organizations, etc;

e) to increase urban guerrilla disturbances gradually in an endless ascendancy of unforeseen actions such that the government troops cannot leave the urban area to pursue the guerrillas in the interior without running the risk of abandoning the cities and permitting rebellion to increase on the coast as well as in the interior of the country;

f) to oblige the army and the police, with the commanders and their assistants, to change the relative comfort and tranquillity of their barracks and their usual rest, for a state of alarm and growing tension in the expectation of attack or in search for tracks that vanish without a trace;

g) to avoid open battle and decisive combat with the government, limiting the struggle to brief and rapid attacks with lightning results;

h) to assure for the urban guerrilla a maximum freedom of maneuvers and of action without ever relinquishing the use of armed violence, remaining firmly oriented toward helping the beginning of rural guerrilla warfare and supporting the construction of the revolutionary army for national liberation.

### On the Types and Nature of Action Models for the Urban Guerrilla

In order to achieve the objectives previously enumerated, the urban guerrilla is obliged, in his technique, to follow an action whose nature is as different and as diversified as possible. The urban guerrilla does not arbitrarily choose this or that action model. Some actions are simple, others are complicated. The urban guerrilla without experience must be incorporated gradually into actions and operations that run from the simple to the complex. He begins with small missions and tasks until he becomes a completely experienced urban guerrilla.

Before any action, the urban guerrilla must think of the methods and the personnel at his disposal to carry out the action. Operations and actions that demand the urban guerrilla's technical preparation cannot be carried out by someone who lacks that technical skill. With these cautions, the action models which the urban guerrilla can carry out are the following:

- a) assaults;
- b) raids and penetrations;
- c) occupations;
- d) ambush;
- e) street tactics;
- f) strikes and work interruptions;
- g) desertions, diversions, seizures, expropriations of arms, ammunition, explosives;
- h) liberation of prisoners;
- i) executions;
- j) kidnappings;
- k) sabotage;
- l) terrorism;
- m) armed propaganda;
- n) war of nerves.

#### Assaults

Assault is the armed attack which we make to expropriate funds, liberate prisoners, capture explosives, machine guns, and other types of arms and ammunition.

Assaults can take place in broad daylight or at night.

Daytime assaults are made when the objective cannot be achieved at any other hour, as for example, the transport of money by the banks, which is not done at night.

Night assault is usually the most advantageous to the urban guerrilla. The ideal is for all assaults to take place at night when conditions for a surprise attack are most favorable and the darkness facilitates flight and hides the identity of the participants. The urban guerrilla must prepare himself, nevertheless, to act under all conditions, daytime as well as nighttime.

The most vulnerable targets for assault are the following:

- a) credit establishments;

- b) commercial and industrial enterprises including the production of arms and explosives;
- c) military establishments;
- d) commissaries and police stations;
- e) jails;
- f) government property;
- g) mass communication media;
- h) North American firms and properties;
- i) government vehicles, including military and police vehicles, trucks, armored vehicles, money carriers, trains, ships, and planes.

The assaults on establishments are of the same nature because in every case the property and buildings represent a fixed target.

Assaults on buildings are conceived as guerrilla operations, varied according to whether they are against banks, a commercial enterprise, industries, military camps, commissaries, prisons, radio stations, warehouses for imperialist firms, etc.

The assaults on vehicles — money carriers, armored cars, trains, ships, airplanes — are of another nature since they are moving targets. The nature of the operations varies according to the situation and the possibility — that is, whether the target is stationary or moving.

Armored cars, including military cars, are not immune to mines. Obstructed roads, traps, ruses, interception of other vehicles, Molotov cocktails, shooting with heavy arms, are efficient methods of assaulting vehicles.

Heavy vehicles, grounded planes, anchored ships can be seized and their crews and guards overcome. Airplanes in flight can be diverted from their course by guerrilla action or by one person.

Ships and trains in movement can be assaulted or taken by guerrilla operations in order to capture the arms and munitions or to prevent troop displacement.

#### **The Bank Assault as Popular Model**

The most popular assault model is the bank assault. In Brazil, the urban guerrilla has begun a type of organized assault on the banks as a guerrilla operation. Today this type of assault is widely used and has served as a sort of preliminary examination for the urban guerrilla in his apprenticeship for the techniques of revolutionary warfare.

Important innovations in the technique of assaulting banks have developed, guaranteeing flight, the withdrawal of money, and the anonymity of those involved. Among these innovations we cite shooting the tires of cars to prevent pursuit; locking people in the bank bathroom, making them sit on the floor; immobilizing the bank guards and removing their arms, forcing someone to open the coffer or the strong box; using disguises.

Attempts to install bank alarms, to use guards or electronic detection devices of US origin, prove fruitless when the assault is political and is carried out according to urban guerrilla warfare technique. This technique tries to utilize new resources to meet the enemy's

tactical changes, has access to a fire power that is growing every day, becomes increasingly astute and audacious, and uses a larger number of revolutionaries every time, all to guarantee the success of operations planned down to the last detail.

The bank assault is a typical expropriation. But, as is true in any kind of armed expropriatory action, the revolutionary is handicapped by a two-fold competition:

- a) competition from the outlaw;
- b) competition from the right-wing counterrevolutionary.

This competition produces confusion, which is reflected in the people's uncertainty. It is up to the urban guerrilla to prevent this from happening, and to accomplish this he must use two methods:

- a) he must avoid the outlaw's technique, which is one of unnecessary violence and appropriation of goods and possessions belonging to the people;
- b) he must use the assault for propaganda purposes, at the very moment it is taking place, and later distribute material, leaflets, every possible means of explaining the objectives and the principles of the urban guerrilla as expropriator of the government, the ruling classes, and imperialism.

#### **Raids and Penetration**

Raids and penetrations are quick attacks on establishments located in neighborhoods or even in the center of the city, such as small military units, commissaries, hospitals, to cause trouble, seize arms, punish and terrorize the enemy, take reprisal, or rescue wounded prisoners, or those hospitalized under police vigilance.

Raids and penetrations are also made on garages and depots to destroy vehicles and damage installations, especially if they are North American firms and property.

When they take place on certain stretches of the highway or in certain distant neighborhoods, the raids can serve to force the enemy to move great numbers of troops, a totally useless effort since he will find nobody there to fight.

When they are carried out in certain houses, offices, archives, or public offices, their purpose is to capture or search for secret papers and documents with which to denounce involvements, compromises, and the corruption of men in government, their dirty deals and criminal transactions with the North Americans.

Raids and penetrations are most effective if they are carried out at night.

#### **Occupations**

Occupations are a type of attack carried out when the urban guerrilla stations himself in specific establishments and locations for a temporary resistance against the enemy or for some propaganda purpose.

The occupation of factories and schools during strikes or at other times is a method of protest or of distracting the enemy's attention.

The occupation of radio stations is for propaganda purposes.

Occupation is a highly effective model for action but, in order to prevent losses and material damage to our ranks, it is always a good idea to count on the possibility of withdrawal. It must always be meticulously planned and carried out at the opportune moment.

Occupation always has a time limit and the faster it is completed, the better.

#### **Ambush**

Ambushes are attacks typified by surprise when the enemy is trapped across a road or when he makes a police net surrounding a house or an estate. A false message can bring the enemy to the spot where he falls into the trap.

The principal object of the ambush tactic is to capture enemy arms and punish him with death.

Ambushes to halt passenger trains are for propaganda purposes and, when they are troop trains, the object is to annihilate the enemy and seize his arms.

The urban guerrilla sniper is the kind of fighter especially suited for ambush because he can hide easily in the irregularities of the terrain, on the roofs and the tops of buildings and apartments under construction. From windows and dark places, he can take careful aim at his chosen target.

Ambush has devastating effects on the enemy, leaving him unnerved, insecure, and fearful.

#### **Street Tactics**

Street tactics are used to fight the enemy in the streets, utilizing the participation of the masses against him.

In 1968 the Brazilian students used excellent street tactics against police troops, such as marching down streets against traffic, utilizing slings and marbles as arms against the mounted police.

Other street tactics consist in constructing barricades: pulling up paving blocks and hurling them at the police; throwing bottles, bricks, paperweights, and other projectiles from the top of apartment and office buildings against the police; using buildings under construction for flight, for hiding, and for supporting surprise attacks.

It is equally necessary to know how to respond to enemy tactics. When the police troops come protected with helmets to defend themselves against flying objects, we have to divide ourselves into two teams: one to attack the enemy from the front, the other to attack him in the rear, withdrawing one as the other goes into action to prevent the first from becoming a target for projectiles hurled by the second.

By the same token it is important to know how to respond to the police net. When the police designate certain of their men to go into the masses to arrest a demonstrator, a larger group of urban guerrillas must surround the police group, disarming and beating them and at the same time letting the prisoner escape. This urban guerrilla operation is called the *net within the net*.

When the police net is formed at a school building, a factory, a place where the masses assemble, or some other point, the urban guerrilla must not give up or allow himself to be taken by surprise. To make his net work the enemy is obliged to transport the police in vehicles and special cars to occupy strategic points in the streets in order to invade the building or chosen locale. The urban guerrilla, for his part, must never clear a building or an area and meet in it without first knowing its exits, the way to break the circle, the strategic points that the police might occupy, and the roads that inevitably lead into the net, and he must hold other strategic points from which to strike at the enemy.

The roads followed by the police vehicles must be mined at key points along the way and at forced stopping points. When the mines explode, the vehicles will fly into the air. The police will be caught in the trap and will suffer losses or will be victims of ambush. The net must be broken by escape routes unknown to the police. The rigorous planning of the retreat is the best way of frustrating any encircling effort on the part of the enemy.

When there is no possibility of a flight plan, the urban guerrilla must not hold meetings, assemblies, or do anything else since to do so will prevent him from breaking through the net the enemy will surely try to throw around him.

Street tactics have revealed a new type of urban guerrilla, the urban guerrilla who participates in mass demonstrations. This is the type we designate as the urban guerrilla demonstrator, who joins the ranks and participates in popular marches with specific and definite aims.

These aims consist in hurling stones and projectiles of every type, using gasoline to start fires, using the police as a target for their fire arms, capturing police arms, kidnapping agents of the enemy and provocateurs, shooting with careful aim at the henchmen torturers and the police chiefs who come in special cars with false plates in order not to attract attention.

The urban guerrilla demonstrator shows groups in the mass demonstration the flight route if that is necessary. He plants mines, throws Molotov cocktails, prepares ambushes and explosions.

The urban guerrilla demonstrator must also initiate the net within the net, going through government vehicles, official cars, and police vehicles before turning them over or setting them on fire, to see if any of them have money and arms.

Snipers are very good for mass demonstrations and, along with the urban guerrilla demonstrators, can play a valuable role.

Hidden at strategic points, the snipers have complete success, using shotguns, machine guns, etc. whose fire and recoil easily cause losses among the enemy.

#### **Strikes and Work Interruptions**

The strike is a model of action employed by the urban guerrilla in work centers and schools to damage the enemy by stopping work

and study activities. Because it is one of the weapons most feared by the exploiters and oppressors, the enemy uses tremendous fighting power and incredible violence against it. The strikers are taken to prison, suffer beatings, and many of them wind up assassinated.

The urban guerrilla must prepare the strike in such a way as to leave no tracks or clues that identify the leaders of the action. A strike is successful when it is organized through the action of a small group, if it is carefully prepared in secret and by the most clandestine methods.

Arms, ammunition, Molotovs, homemade weapons of destruction and attack, all this must be supplied beforehand in order to meet the enemy. So that it can do the greatest possible damage, it is a good idea to study and put into effect a sabotage plan.

Work and study interruptions, although they are of brief duration, cause severe damage to the enemy. It is enough for them to crop up at different points and in different sections of the same area, disrupting daily life, occurring endlessly one after the other, in authentic guerrilla fashion.

In strikes or simple work interruptions, the urban guerrilla has recourse to occupation or penetration of the locale or can simply make a raid. In that case his objective is to take hostages, to capture prisoners or to kidnap enemy agents and propose an exchange for the arrested strikers.

In certain cases, strikes and brief work interruptions can offer an excellent opportunity for preparing ambushes or traps whose aim is the physical liquidation of the cruel bloody police.

The basic fact is that the enemy suffers losses and material and moral damage, and is weakened by the action.

#### **Desertions, Diversions, Seizures, Expropriations of Arms, Ammunition, Explosives**

Desertion and the diversion of arms are actions effected in military camps, ships, military hospitals, etc. The urban guerrilla soldier, chief, sergeant, subofficial, and official must desert at the most opportune moment with modern arms and ammunition to hand them over for the use of the Brazilian revolution.

One of the opportune moments is when the military urban guerrilla is called upon to pursue and to fight his guerrilla comrades outside the military quarters. Instead of following the orders of the gorillas, the military urban guerrilla must join the revolutionaries by handing over the arms and ammunition he carries, or the military plane he pilots.

The advantage of this method is that the revolutionaries receive arms and ammunition from the army, the navy, and the air force, the military police, the civilian guard, or the firemen without any great work, since it reaches their hands by government transport.

Other opportunities may occur in the barracks, and the military urban guerrilla must always be alert to this. In case of carelessness on the part of the commanders or in other favorable conditions,

such as bureaucratic attitudes and behavior or relaxation of discipline on the part of sublieutenants and other internal personnel, the military urban guerrilla must no longer wait but must try to advise the organizations and desert alone or accompanied, but with as large a supply of arms as possible.

With information from and participation of the military urban guerrilla, raids on barracks and other military establishments for the purpose of capturing arms can be organized.

When there is no possibility of deserting and taking arms and ammunition, the military urban guerrilla must engage in sabotage, starting explosions and fires in munitions and gunpowder.

This technique of deserting with arms and ammunition, of raiding and sabotaging the military centers, is the best way of wearing out and demoralizing the gorillas and of leaving them confused.

The urban guerrilla's purpose in disarming an individual enemy is to capture his arms. These arms are usually in the hands of sentinels or others whose task is guard duty or repression.

The capture of arms may be accomplished by violent means or by astuteness and by tricks or traps. When the enemy is disarmed, he must be searched for arms other than those already taken from him. If we are careless, he can use the arms that were not seized to shoot the urban guerrilla.

The seizure of arms is an efficient method of acquiring machine guns, the urban guerrilla's most important arms.

When we carry out small operations or actions to seize arms and ammunitions, the material captured may be for personal use or for armaments and supplies for the firing groups.

The necessity to provide firing power for the urban guerrilla is so great that, in order to take off from zero point we often have to purchase one weapon, divert, or capture a single arm. The basic point is to begin, and to begin with a great spirit of decisiveness and of boldness. The possession of a single arm multiplies our forces.

In a bank assault, we must be careful to seize the arm or arms of the bank guard. The remainder of the arms we find with the treasurer, the bank teller, or the manager must also be seized ahead of time.

The other method we can use to capture arms is the preparation of ambushes against the police and the cars they use to move around in.

Quite often we succeed in capturing arms in the police commissaries as a result of raids from outside.

The expropriation of arms, ammunition, and explosives is the urban guerrilla's goal in assaulting commercial houses, industries, and quarries.

#### **Liberation of Prisoners**

The liberation of prisoners is an armed operation designed to free the jailed urban guerrilla. In daily struggle against the enemy, the

urban guerrilla is subject to arrest and can be sentenced to unlimited years in jail. This does not mean that the revolutionary battle stops here. For the guerrilla, his experience is deepened by prison and continues even in the dungeons where he is held.

The imprisoned urban guerrilla views jail as a terrain he must dominate and understand in order to free himself by a guerrilla operation. There is no prison, either on an island, in a city penitentiary, or on a farm, that is impregnable to the slyness, the cleverness, and the firing potential of the revolutionaries.

The urban guerrilla who is free views the penal establishments of the enemy as the inevitable site of guerrilla action designed to liberate his ideological brothers from prison.

It is this combination of *the urban guerrilla in freedom and the urban guerrilla in jail* that results in the armed operations we refer to as the liberation of prisoners.

The guerrilla operations that can be used in liberating prisoners are the following:

- a) riots in penal establishments, in correctional colonies and islands, or on transport or prison ships;
- b) assaults on urban or rural penitentiaries, houses of detention, commissaries, prisoner depots, or any other permanent, occasional, or temporary place where prisoners are held;
- c) assaults on prisoner transport trains and cars;
- d) raids and penetrations of prisons;
- e) ambushing of guards who are moving prisoners.

#### Execution

Execution is the killing of a North American spy, of an agent of the dictatorship, of a police torturer, of a fascist personality in the government involved in crimes and persecutions against patriots, of a stool pigeon, informer, police agent, or police provocateur.

Those who go to the police of their own free will to make denunciations and accusations, who supply clues and information and finger people, must also be executed when they are caught by the urban guerrilla.

Execution is a secret action in which the least possible number of urban guerrillas are involved. In many cases, the execution can be carried out by one sniper, patiently, alone and unknown, and operating in absolute secrecy and in cold blood.

#### Kidnapping

Kidnapping is capturing and holding in a secret spot a police agent, a North American spy, a political personality, or a notorious and dangerous enemy of the revolutionary movement.

Kidnapping is used to exchange or liberate imprisoned revolutionary comrades, or to force suspension of torture in the jail cells of the military dictatorship.

The kidnapping of personalities who are known artists, sports figures, or are outstanding in some other field, but who have evi-

denced no political interest, can be a useful form of propaganda for the revolutionary and patriotic principles of the urban guerrilla provided it occurs under special circumstances, and the kidnapping is handled so that the public sympathizes with it and accepts it.

The kidnapping of North American residents or visitors in Brazil constitutes a form of protest against the penetration and domination of United States imperialism in our country.

### **Sabotage**

Sabotage is a highly destructive type of attack using very few persons and sometimes requiring only one to accomplish the desired result. When the urban guerrilla uses sabotage the first phase is isolated sabotage. Then comes the phase of dispersed and generalized sabotage, carried out by the people.

Well-executed sabotage demands study, planning, and careful execution. A characteristic form of sabotage is explosion using dynamite, fire, and the placing of mines.

A little sand, a trickle of any kind of combustible, a poor lubrication, a screw removed, a short circuit, pieces of wood or of iron, can cause irreparable damage.

The objective of sabotage is to hurt, to damage, to make useless and to destroy vital enemy points such as the following:

- a) the economy of the country;
- b) agricultural or industrial production;
- c) transport and communication systems;
- d) the military and police systems and their establishments and deposits;
- e) the repressive military-police system;
- f) the firms and properties of North Americans in the country.

The urban guerrilla should endanger the economy of the country, particularly its economic and financial aspects, such as its domestic and foreign commercial network, its exchange and banking systems, its tax collection system, and others.

Public offices, centers of government services, government warehouses, are easy targets for sabotage.

Nor will it be easy to prevent the sabotage of agricultural and industrial production by the urban guerrilla, with his thorough knowledge of the local situation.

Industrial workers acting as urban guerrillas are excellent industrial saboteurs since they, better than anyone, understand the industry, the factory, the machine, or the part most likely to destroy an entire operation, doing far more damage than a poorly informed layman could do.

With respect to the enemy's transport and communication systems, beginning with railway traffic, it is necessary to attack them systematically with sabotage arms.

The only caution is against causing death and fatal injury to passengers, especially regular commuters on suburban and long-distance trains.

Attacks on freight trains, rolling or stationary stock, stoppage of military transport and communication systems, these are the major sabotage objectives in this area.

Sleepers can be damaged and pulled up as can rails. A tunnel blocked by a barrier after an explosion, an obstruction by a derailed car, cause tremendous harm.

The derailment of a cargo train carrying fuel is of major damage to the enemy. So is dynamiting railway bridges. In a system where the weight and the size of the rolling equipment is enormous, it takes months for workers to repair or rebuild the destruction and damage.

As for highways, they can be obstructed by trees, stationary vehicles, ditches, dislocations of barriers by dynamite and bridges blown up by explosion.

Ships can be damaged at anchor in seaports and river ports or in the shipyards. Airplanes can be destroyed or sabotaged on the ground.

Telephonic and telegraphic lines can be systematically damaged, their towers blown up, and their lines made useless.

Transport and communications must be sabotaged at once because the revolutionary war has already begun in Brazil and it is essential to impede the enemy's movement of troops and munitions.

Oil lines, fuel plants, depots for bombs and ammunition, powder magazines and arsenals, military camps, commissaries must become targets par excellence in sabotage operations, while vehicles, army trucks, and other military and police cars must be destroyed wherever they are found.

The military and police repression centers and their specific and specialized organs, must also claim the attention of the urban guerrilla saboteur.

North American firms and properties in the country, for their part, must become such frequent targets of sabotage that the volume of actions directed against them surpasses the total of all other actions against vital enemy points.

### **Terrorism**

Terrorism is an action, usually involving the placement of a bomb or fire explosion of great destructive power, which is capable of effecting irreparable loss against the enemy.

Terrorism requires that the urban guerrilla should have an adequate theoretical and practical knowledge of how to make explosives.

The terroristic act, apart from the apparent facility with which it can be carried out, is no different from other urban guerrilla acts and actions whose success depends on the planning and determination of the revolutionary organization. It is an action the urban guerrilla must execute with the greatest cold bloodedness, calmness, and decision.

Although terrorism generally involves an explosion, there are cases in which it may also be carried out by execution and the systematic

burning of installations, properties, and North American depots, plantations, etc. It is essential to point out the importance of fires and the construction of incendiary bombs such as gasoline bombs in the technique of revolutionary terrorism. Another thing is the importance of the material the urban guerrilla can persuade the people to expropriate in moments of hunger and scarcity resulting from the greed of the big commercial interests.

Terrorism is an arm the revolutionary can never relinquish.

#### **Armed Propaganda**

The coordination of urban guerrilla actions, including each armed action, is the principal way of making armed propaganda.

These actions, carried out with specific and determined objectives, inevitably become propaganda material for the mass communications system.

Bank assaults, ambushes, desertions and diverting of arms, the rescue of prisoners, executions, kidnappings, sabotage, terrorism, and the war of nerves, are all cases in point.

Airplanes diverted in flight by revolutionary action, moving ships and trains assaulted and seized by guerrillas, can also be solely for propaganda effects.

But the urban guerrilla must never fail to install a clandestine press and must be able to turn out mimeographed copies using alcohol or electric plates and other duplicating apparatus, expropriating what he cannot buy in order to produce small clandestine newspapers, pamphlets, flyers, and stamps for propaganda and agitation against the dictatorship.

The urban guerrilla engaged in clandestine printing facilitates enormously the incorporation of large numbers of people into the revolutionary struggle, by opening a permanent work front for those willing to carry on revolutionary propaganda, even when to do so means acting alone and risking their lives as revolutionaries.

With the existence of clandestine propaganda and agitational material, the inventive spirit of the urban guerrilla expands and creates catapults, artifacts, mortars, and other instruments with which to distribute the antigovernment pamphlets at a distance.

Tape recordings, the occupation of radio stations, and the use of loudspeakers, drawings on walls and in other inaccessible places are other forms of propaganda.

In using them, the urban guerrilla should give them the character of armed operations.

A consistent propaganda by letters sent to specific addresses, explaining the meaning of the urban guerrillas' armed actions, produces considerable results and is one method of influencing certain segments of the population.

Even this influence exercised in the heart of the people by every possible propaganda device revolving around the activity of the urban guerrilla does not indicate that our forces have everyone's support.

It is enough to win the support of a part of the people and this

can be done by popularizing the following slogan: "Let he who does not wish to do anything for the revolutionaries, do nothing against them."

#### **The War of Nerves**

The war of nerves or psychological war is an aggressive technique, based on the direct or indirect use of mass means of communication and news transmitted orally in order to demoralize the government.

In psychological warfare, the government is always at a disadvantage since it imposes censorship on the mass media and winds up in a defensive position by not allowing anything against it to filter through.

At this point it becomes desperate, is involved in greater contradictions and loss of prestige, and loses time and energy in an exhausting effort at control which is subject to being broken at any moment.

The object of the war of nerves is to misinform, spreading lies among the authorities, in which everyone can participate, thus creating an air of nervousness, discredit, insecurity, uncertainty, and concern on the part of the government.

The best methods used by the urban guerrilla in the war of nerves are the following:

- a) using the telephone and the mail to announce false clues to the police and the government, including information on the planting of bombs and any other act of terrorism in public offices and other places, kidnapping and assassination plans, etc., to oblige the authorities to wear themselves out, following up the information fed them;
- b) letting false plans fall into the hands of the police to divert their attention;
- c) planting rumors to make the government uneasy;
- d) exploiting by every means possible the corruption, the errors, and the failures of the government and its representatives, forcing them into demoralizing explanations and justifications in the very mass communication media they maintain under censorship;
- e) presenting denunciations to foreign embassies, the United Nations, the papal nunciature, and the international judicial commissions defending human rights or freedom of the press, exposing each concrete violation and use of violence by the military dictatorship and making it known that the revolutionary war will continue its course with serious danger for the enemies of the people.

#### **How to Carry Out the Action**

The urban guerrilla who correctly carries through his apprenticeship and training must give the greatest importance to his method of carrying out action, for in this he cannot commit the slightest error.

Any carelessness in the assimilation of the method and its use invites certain disaster, as experience teaches every day.

The outlaws commit errors frequently because of their methods, and this is one of the reasons why the urban guerrilla must be so insistent.

ently preoccupied with following the revolutionary technique and not the technique of the bandits.

And not only for that reason. There is no urban guerrilla worthy of the name who ignores the revolutionary method of action and fails to practice it rigorously in the planning and execution of his activity.

The giant is known by his toe. The same can be said of the urban guerrilla who is known from afar for his correct methods and his absolute fidelity to principles.

The revolutionary method of carrying out action is strongly and forcefully based on the knowledge and use of the following elements:

- a ) investigation of information;
- b ) observation or *paquera* \*;
- c ) reconnaissance or exploration of the terrain;
- d ) study and timing of routes;
- e ) mapping;
- f ) mechanization;
- g ) selection of personnel and relief;
- h ) selection of firing capacity;
- i ) study and practice in completion;
- j ) completion;
- k ) cover;
- l ) retreat;
- m ) dispersal;
- n ) liberation or transfer of prisoners;
- o ) elimination of clues;
- p ) rescue of wounded.

#### Some Observations on the Method

When there is no information, the point of departure for the planning of the action must be investigation, observation, or *paquera*. This method also has good results.

In any event, including when there is information, it is essential to take observations or *paquera*, to see that the information is not at odds with observation or vice versa.

Reconnaissance or exploration of the terrain, study and timing of routes are so important that to omit them is to make a stab in the dark.

Mechanization, in general, is an underestimated factor in the method of conducting the action. Frequently mechanization is left to the end, to the eve of the action, before anything is done about it.

This is an error. Mechanization must be considered seriously, must be undertaken with considerable foresight and according to careful planning, also based on information, observation, or *paquera*, and must be carried out with rigorous care and precision. The care, conservation, maintenance, and camouflaging of the vehicles expropriated are very important details of mechanization.

\* In Brazil the expression *fazer a paquera* is used to designate the preparations for hunting *paca*, a mammal rodent of South American origin. By extension, the term *paquera* is used as a synonym for checking or vigilance.  
(Editor's note)

When transport fails, the principal action fails with serious moral and material consequences for the urban guerrilla activity.

The selection of personnel requires great care to avoid the inclusion of indecisive or vacillating personnel with the danger of contaminating the other participants, a difficulty that must be avoided.

The withdrawal is equally or more important than the operation itself, to the point that it must be rigorously planned, including the possibility of failure.

One must avoid rescue or transfer of prisoners with children present, or anything to attract the attention of people in casual transit through the area. The best thing is to make the rescue as natural as possible, always winding through, or using different routes of narrow streets that scarcely permit passage on foot, to avoid an encounter of two cars. The elimination of tracks is obligatory and demands the greatest caution in hiding fingerprints and any other sign that could give the enemy information. Lack of care in the elimination of tracks and clues is a factor that increases nervousness in our ranks and which the enemy often exploits.

#### **Rescue of the Wounded**

The problem of the wounded in urban guerrilla warfare merits special attention. During guerrilla operations in the urban area it may happen that some comrade is accidentally wounded or shot by the police. When a guerrilla in the firing group has a knowledge of first aid he can do something for the wounded comrade on the spot. In no circumstances can the wounded urban guerrilla be abandoned at the site of the battle or left to the enemy's hands.

One of the precautions we must take is to set up nursing courses for men and women, courses in which the urban guerrilla can matriculate and learn the elementary techniques of first aid.

The urban guerrilla doctor, student of medicine, nurse, pharmacologist, or simply the person trained in first aid, is a necessity in modern revolutionary struggle.

A small manual of first aid for the urban guerrilla, printed on mimeographed sheets, can also be undertaken by anyone who has enough knowledge.

In planning and completing an armed action, the urban guerrilla cannot forget the organization of medical logistics. This will be accomplished by means of a mobile or motorized clinic. You can also set up a mobile first aid station. Another solution is to utilize the skills of a nursing comrade who waits with his bag of equipment in a designated house to which the wounded are brought.

The ideal would be to have our own well equipped clinic, but this is very costly unless we use expropriated materials.

When all else fails, it is often necessary to resort to legal clinics, using armed force if necessary to demand that the doctors attend to our wounded.

In the eventuality that we fall back on blood banks to buy blood or whole plasma, we must not use legal addresses and certainly not

addresses where the wounded can really be found, since they are under our care and protection. Nor should we supply addresses of those involved in the organization's clandestine work to the hospitals and health centers where we take them. Such concerns are indispensable to cover any track or clue.

The houses in which the wounded stay cannot be known to anybody with the unique and exclusive exception of the small group of comrades responsible for their treatment and transport.

Sheets, bloody clothing, medicine, and any other indication of treatment of the comrades wounded in combat with the police, must be completely eliminated from any place they visit to receive medical treatment.

#### **Guerrilla Security**

The urban guerrilla lives in constant danger of the possibility of being discovered or denounced. The chief security problem is to make certain that we are well hidden and well guarded, and that there are secure methods to keep the police from locating us or our whereabouts.

The worst enemy of the urban guerrilla and the major danger we run is infiltration into our organization by a spy or an informer.

The spy trapped within the organization will be punished with death. The same goes for those who desert and inform to the police.

A good security is the certainty that the enemy has no spies and agents infiltrated in our midst and can receive no information about us even by indirect or distant means. The fundamental way to insure this is to be cautious and strict in recruiting.

Nor is it permissible for everyone to know everyone and everything else. Each person should know only what relates to his work. This rule is a fundamental point in the abc's of urban guerrilla security.

The battle that we are waging against the enemy is arduous and difficult because it is a class struggle. Every class struggle is a battle of life or death when the classes are antagonistic.

The enemy wants to annihilate us and fights relentlessly to find us and destroy us, so that our great weapon consists in hiding from him and attacking him by surprise.

The danger to the urban guerrilla is that he may reveal himself through imprudence or allow himself to be discovered through lack of class vigilance. It is inadmissible for the urban guerrilla to give out his own or any other clandestine address to the enemy or to talk too much. Annotations in the margins of newspapers, lost documents, calling cards, letters or notes, all these are clues that the police never underestimate.

Address and telephone books must be destroyed and one must not write or hold papers; it is necessary to avoid keeping archives of legal or illegal names, biographical information, maps, and plans. The points of contact should not be written down but simply committed to memory.

The urban guerrilla who violates these rules must be warned by the first one who notes his infraction and, if he repeats it, we must avoid working with him.

The need of the urban guerrilla to move about constantly and the relative proximity of the police, given the circumstances of the strategic police net which surrounds the city, forces him to adopt variable security methods depending on the enemy's movements.

For this reason it is necessary to maintain a service of daily news about what the enemy appears to be doing, where his police net is operating and what gorges and points of strangulation are being watched. The daily reading of police news in the newspapers is a great fountain of information in these cases.

The most important lesson for guerrilla security is never, under any circumstances, to permit the slightest sign of laxity in the maintenance of security measures and regulations within the organization.

Guerrilla security must be maintained also and principally in cases of arrest. The arrested guerrilla can reveal nothing to the police that will jeopardize the organization. He can say nothing that may lead, as a consequence, to the arrest of other comrades, the discovery of addresses and hiding places, the loss of arms and ammunition.

#### **The Seven Sins of the Urban Guerrilla**

Even when the urban guerrilla applies his revolutionary technique with precision and rigorously abides by security rules, he can still be vulnerable to errors. There is no perfect urban guerrilla. The most he can do is to make every effort to diminish the margin of error since he cannot be perfect.

One of the methods we should use to diminish the margin of error is to know thoroughly the seven sins of the urban guerrilla and try to fight them.

The first sin of the urban guerrilla is inexperience. The urban guerrilla, blinded by this sin, thinks the enemy is stupid, underestimates his intelligence, believes everything is easy and, as a result, leaves clues that can lead to his disaster.

Because of his inexperience, the urban guerrilla can also overestimate the forces of the enemy, believing them to be stronger than they really are. Allowing himself to be fooled by this presumption, the urban guerrilla becomes intimidated, and remains insecure and indecisive, paralyzed and lacking in audacity.

The second sin of the urban guerrilla is to boast about the actions he has completed and broadcast them to the four winds.

The third sin of the urban guerrilla is vanity. The urban guerrilla who suffers from this sin tries to solve the problems of the revolution by actions erupting in the city, but without bothering about the beginnings and the survival of the guerrilla in rural areas. Blinded by success, he winds up organizing an action that he considers decisive and that puts into play all the forces and resources of the organization. Since the city is the area of the strategic circle which we cannot avoid

or break while rural guerrilla warfare has not yet erupted and is not at the point of triumph, we always run the fatal error of permitting the enemy to attack us with decisive blows.

The fourth sin of the urban guerrilla is to exaggerate his strength and to undertake projects for which he lacks forces and, as yet, does not have the required infrastructure.

The fifth sin of the urban guerrilla is precipitous action. The urban guerrilla who commits this sin loses patience, suffers an attack of nerves, does not wait for anything, and impetuously throws himself into action, suffering untold reverses.

The sixth sin of the urban guerrilla is to attack the enemy when he is most angry.

The seventh sin of the urban guerrilla is to fail to plan things, and to act out of improvisation.

#### **Popular Support**

One of the permanent concerns of the urban guerrilla is his identification with popular causes to win public support.

Where government actions become inept and corrupt, the urban guerrilla should not hesitate to step in to show that he opposes the government and to gain mass sympathy. The present government, for example, imposes heavy financial burdens and excessively high taxes on the people. It is up to the urban guerrilla to attack the dictatorship's tax collection system and to obstruct its financial activity, throwing all the weight of violent revolutionary action against it.

The urban guerrilla fights not only to upset the tax and collection system; the arm of revolutionary violence must also be directed against those government organs that raise prices and those who direct them, as well as against the wealthiest of the national and foreign profiteers and the important property owners; in short, against all those who accumulate huge fortunes out of the high cost of living, the wages of hunger, excessive prices and rents.

Foreign trusts, such as refrigeration and other North American plants that monopolize the market and the manufacture of general food supplies, must be systematically attacked by the urban guerrilla.

The rebellion of the urban guerrilla and his persistence in intervening in public questions is the best way of insuring public support of the cause we defend. We repeat and insist on repeating: *it is the best way of insuring public support*. As soon as a reasonable section of the population begins to take seriously the action of the urban guerrilla, his success is guaranteed.

The government has no alternative except to intensify repression. The police networks, house searches, arrests of innocent people and of suspects, closing off streets, make life in the city unbearable. The military dictatorship embarks on massive political persecution. Political assassinations and police terror become routine.

In spite of all this, the police systematically fail. The armed forces, the navy, and the air force are mobilized and undertake routine police functions. Even so they find no way to halt guerrilla operations, nor

to wipe out the revolutionary organization with its fragmented groups that move around and operate throughout the national territory persistently and contagiously.

The people refuse to collaborate with the authorities, and the general sentiment is that the government is unjust, incapable of solving problems, and resorts purely and simply to the physical liquidation of its opponents.

The political situation in the country is transformed into a military situation in which the gorillas appear more and more to be the ones responsible for errors and violence, while the problems in the lives of the people become truly catastrophic.

When they see the militarists and the dictatorship on the brink of the abyss, and fearing the consequences of a revolutionary war which is already at a fairly advanced and irreversible level, the pacifiers, always to be found within the ruling classes, and the right-wing opportunists, partisans of nonviolent struggle, join hands and circulate rumors behind the scenes, begging the hangmen for elections, "redemocratization," constitutional reforms, and other trape designed to fool the masses and make them stop the revolutionary rebellion in the cities and the rural areas of the country.

But, watching the revolutionaries, the people now understand that it is a farce to vote in elections which have as their sole objective, guaranteeing the continuation of the military dictatorship and covering up its crimes.

Attacking wholeheartedly this election farce and the so-called "political solution" so appealing to the opportunists, the urban guerrilla must become more aggressive and violent, resorting without letup to sabotage, terrorism, expropriations, assaults, kidnappings, executions, etc.

This answers any attempt to fool the masses with the opening of Congress and the reorganization of political parties -- parties of the government and of the opposition it allows -- when all the time the parliament and the so-called parties function thanks to the license of the military dictatorship in a true spectacle of marionettes and dogs on a leash.

The role of the urban guerrilla, in order to win the support of the people, is to continue fighting, keeping in mind the interests of the masses and heightening the disastrous situation in which the government must act. These are the circumstances, disastrous for the dictatorship, which permit the revolutionaries to open rural guerrilla warfare in the midst of the uncontrollable expansion of urban rebellion.

The urban guerrilla is engaged in revolutionary action in favor of the people and with it seeks the participation of the masses in the struggle against the military dictatorship and for the liberation of the country from the yoke of the United States. Beginning with the city and with the support of the people, the rural guerrilla war develops rapidly, establishing its infrastructure carefully while the urban area continues the rebellion.

### Urban Guerrilla Warfare, School for Selecting the Guerrilla

Revolution is a social phenomenon that depends on men, arms, and resources. Arms and resources exist in the country and can be taken and used, but to do this it is necessary to count on men. Without them, the arms and the resources have no use and no value. For their part, the men must have two basic and indispensable obligatory qualities:

- a) they must have a politico-revolutionary motivation;
- b) they must have the necessary technical-revolutionary preparation.

Men with a politico-revolutionary motivation are found among the vast and clearheaded contingents of enemies of the military dictatorship and of the domination of US imperialism.

Almost daily such men gravitate to urban guerrilla warfare, and it is for this reason that the reaction no longer announces that it has thwarted the revolutionaries and goes through the unpleasantness of seeing them rise up again out of their own ashes.

The men who are best trained, most experienced, and dedicated to urban guerrilla warfare and at the same time to rural guerrilla warfare, constitute the backbone of the revolutionary war and, therefore, of the Brazilian revolution. From this backbone will come the marrow of the revolutionary army of national liberation, rising out of guerrilla warfare.

This is the central nucleus, not the bureaucrats and opportunists hidden in the organizational structure, not the empty conferees, the clichéd writers of resolutions that remain on paper, but rather the men who fight. The men who from the very first have been determined and ready for anything; who personally participate in revolutionary actions, who do not waver or deceive.

This is the nucleus indoctrinated and disciplined with a long-range strategic and tactical vision consistent with the application of Marxist theory, of Leninism and of Castro-Guevara developments, applied to the specific conditions of the Brazilian situation. This is the nucleus that will lead the rebellion through its guerrilla phase.

From it will come men and women with politico-military development, one and indivisible, whose task will be that of future leaders after the triumph of the revolution, in the construction of the new Brazilian society.

As of now, the men and women chosen for urban guerrilla warfare are workers, peasants whom the city has attracted as a market for man power and who return to the countryside indoctrinated and politically and technically prepared: students, intellectuals, priests. This is the material with which we are building — starting with urban guerrilla warfare — the armed alliance of workers and peasants, with students, intellectuals, priests.

Workers have infinite knowledge in the industrial sphere and are best for urban revolutionary tasks. The urban guerrilla worker participates in the struggle by constructing arms, sabotaging and preparing

saboteurs and dynamiters, and personally participating in actions involving hand arms, or organizing strikes and partial paralysis with the characteristics of mass violence in factories, workshops, and other work centers.

The peasants have an extraordinary intuition for knowledge of the land, judgment in confronting the enemy, and the indispensable ability to communicate with the humble masses. The peasant guerrilla is already participating in our struggle and it is he who reaches the guerrilla core, establishes support points in the countryside, finds hiding places for individuals, arms, munitions, supplies, organizes the sowing and harvesting of grain for use in the guerrilla war, chooses the points of transport, cattle raising posts, and sources of meat supplies, trains the guides that show the rural guerrillas the road, and creates an information service in the countryside.

Students are noted for being politically crude and coarse and thus they break all the taboos. When they are integrated into urban guerrilla warfare, as is now occurring on a wide scale, they show a special talent for revolutionary violence and soon acquire a high level of political-technical-military skill. Students have plenty of free time on their hands because they are systematically separated, suspended, and expelled from school by the dictatorship and so they begin to spend their time advantageously, in behalf of the revolution.

The intellectuals constitute the vanguard of resistance to arbitrary acts, social injustice, and the terrible inhumanity of the dictatorship of the gorillas. They spread the revolutionary call and they have great influence on people. The urban guerrilla intellectual or artist is the most modern of the Brazilian revolution's adherents.

Churchmen — that is to say, those ministers or priests and religious men of various hierarchies and persuasions — represent a sector that has special ability to communicate with the people, particularly with workers, peasants, and the Brazilian woman. The priest who is an urban guerrilla is an active ingredient in the ongoing Brazilian revolutionary war, and constitutes a powerful arm in the struggle against military power and North American imperialism.

As for the Brazilian woman, her participation in the revolutionary war, and particularly in urban guerrilla warfare, has been marked by an unmatched fighting spirit and tenacity, and it is not by chance that so many women have been accused of participation in guerrilla actions against banks, quarries, military centers, etc., and that so many are in prison while others are sought by the police.

As a school for choosing the guerrilla, urban guerrilla warfare prepares and places at the same level of responsibility and efficiency the men and women who share the same dangers fighting, rounding up supplies, serving as messengers or runners, as drivers, sailors, or airplane pilots, obtaining secret information, and helping with propaganda and the task of indoctrination.

Carlos Marighella

June 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

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A characterization of the Black panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men, Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is . . . by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces . . . are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
January 14, 1971

Title            BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
                 CHARLOTTE DIVISION

Character       RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference       Memorandum prepared at Charlotte.  
                 North Carolina, dated and captioned as  
                 above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

  1   Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2);(b)(7)(c) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

                    105-165706-8-399                    

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 25 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR002 CE CODE

450PM URGENT 1-25-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RACIAL MATTERS.

[REDACTED] WINSTON SALEM, N. C., PD,  
ADVISED TODAY THAT LARRY DONNELL LITTLE AND JULIUS WHITE CORNELL,  
JR., HAVE BOTH BEEN RELEASED ON BOND, NOTING THAT THEY ALONG WITH  
GRADY FULLER RECEIVED PRELIMINARY HEARING, JANUARY TWENTYTWO,  
SEVENTYONE, WHEREIN PROBABLE CAUSE WAS FOUND AND THE CASE IS SET  
FOR TRIAL ON JANUARY TWENTYNINE, SEVENTYONE.

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR. WAS ARRESTED ON FORGERY CHARGES ON  
JANUARY TWENTYTWO, SEVENTYONE, AND REMAINS IN JAIL.

[REDACTED] FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED VERY  
LITTLE ACTIVITY HAS HAPPENED AT WINSTON SALEM AND THEIR PROPERTY  
END PAGE ONE

55 FEB - 4 1971

REC 11

ST-103

105-165706-8-398

12 JAN 27 1971

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

HAS BEEN STORED IN THE HOMES OF VARIOUS MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS. THE GROUP IS IN VERY BAD SHAPE FINANCIALLY AND CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE THE BONDS FOR MALLOY AND FULLER. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAD NO INFORMATION ANY REPRISALS ARE PLANNED AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT AT WINSTON SALEM, N. C., IN CONNECTION WITH THESE ARRESTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU, JANUARY NINETEEN, SEVENTYONE.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW CLOSELY AND KEPT BUREAU ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

PLB FBI WA CLR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 19 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Mr. Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

NR0010 CE PLAIN

9:20 PM URGENT 1-19-71 ESB

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706SUB 8)

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

AT HIGH POINT, N.C., JOSEPH ERVIN WADDELL WAS FOUND GUILTY OF ARMED ROBBERY CHARGES TODAY AND WILL BE SENTENCED JANUARY TWENTY, SEVENTYONE.

AT WINSTON SALEM, N.C., LARRY DONNELL LITTLE AND JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., REMAIN IN JAIL AS OF FIVE P.M., UNDER FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS BOND, AND NO INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM SOURCES OR PD OF ANY PLANNED VIOLENCE OR INDICENTS AT EITHER HIGH POINT OR WINSTON SALEM, N.C.

MIG AND SS ADVISED

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, TODAY.

END PAGE ONE

58 FEB 4 - 1971

"cc FBIU  
Ad data deleted"

REC 19/05-165706-8-397

17 JAN 26 1971

PAGE TWO

CHARLOTTE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH  
SOURCES.

END

CC - Trainor

cc - G Moore

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 19 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 1-19-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 3

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P

ROOM 724 9&D

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

WORSYTH COUNTY SO. BACKED UP BY THE WINSTON-SALEM, NC,  
PD, SERVED EVICTION NOTICE ON JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR. AND  
THEREAFTER REMOVED BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) PROPERTY FROM  
SIXTY SIX SIXTEEN E. TWENTYTHIRD STREET, WINSTON-SALEM, WITHOUT  
INCIDENT. NO ONE WAS AT THE HOUSE AT THE TIME SHERIFF'S  
OFFICERS ARRIVED AND CORNELL WAS WAITING ACROSS THE STREET  
FROM THE HOUSE. WHILE THE EVICTION WAS IN PROGRESS CORNELL  
WAS ARRESTED BY THE WINSTON-SALEM PD ON CHARGES OF LARCENY  
OF A TRUCK BELONGING TO THE CHATHAM MEAT CO. AND A WARRANT  
CHARGING THE SAME OFFENSE IS ALSO OUTSTANDING AGAINST LARRY  
DONNELL LITTLE.

END PAGE ONE

REC 2

105-165706-8-396

23 JAN 25 1971

44 JAN 27 1971  
C.A.

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

B. APPROX. 1/13/71

THIS IS BASED ON INFORMATION FROM WILLIAM COE, THE FIFTEEN-YEAR-OLD SUBJECT ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH PREVIOUS RAID ON PANTHER HEADQUARTERS JANUARY THIRTEEN, SEVENTYONE, SINCE COE IDENTIFIED CORNELL AND LITTLE AS BEING THE TWO PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT THE TRUCK LOAD OF STOLEN MEAT TO THE PANTHER HOUSE AT ELEVEN TWENTYSEVEN EAST SIXTEENTH STREET.

LITTLE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY LOCATED BY THE PD AT THE FORSYTH COUNTY COURTHOUSE AND ARRESTED, WHILE IN ATTENDANCE AT PRELIMINARY HEARING FOR GRADY FULLER, THE OTHER BPP MEMBER ARRESTED JANUARY THIRTEEN, SEVENTYONE, IN THE RAID ON BPP HEADQUARTERS.

CORNELL AND LITTLE ARE ALSO BEING CHARGED WITH ACCESSORY AFTER THE FACT IN CONNECTION WITH THE THEFT OF MEAT, A FELONY CHARGE, AND ARE BEING HELD UNDER FOUR THOUSAND DOLLAR BOND EACH.

END PAGE TWO

CE 157-6171

PAGE THREE

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR JANUARY EIGHTEEN,  
SEVENTYONE.

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JULIUS WHITE CORNELL IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND THEY ARE THE TOP TWO LEADERS  
OF THE BPP IN NORTH CAROLINA.

CHARLOTTE FOLLOWING CLOSELY.

END

PLB FBI WASH

CLR

[REDACTED]  
R003 124 940

## Memorandum

RECA

DIRECTOR, FBI

105-165706-8

DATE:

1-19-71

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY- CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from SF [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

JAN 12 1971

#1 11:59am dlc IC

Collect call from [REDACTED] (ph) in Winston Salem, NC

to UNW. [REDACTED] said that the hqs. had been raided about an hour ago and there had been one brother and two sisters in the house at the time of the raid. [REDACTED] said that the original house had burned down and they were in the process of moving when they were raided. [REDACTED] said she had called NY to tell them of the raid.

and NY said they would notify the west coast. UNW said to call [REDACTED] at one of the following three #s 212-[REDACTED] and to call back with all info later.

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 2 - SF

61 FEB 1

JAN 22 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

105-165706-8

DATE:

1-19-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

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#3 1:25pm dlc IC

JAN 12 1971

[REDACTED] (ph) LONG distance collect to [REDACTED] wanted to dictate an article for the paper before it went to press. The article concerned the Panther house that had been raided earlier this date. [REDACTED] was told to give the inform to [REDACTED] (ph) at [REDACTED]

CHARLOTTE

ST 117

REC-94

105-165706-8-394

JAN 22 1971

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

56 JAN 27 1971

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS (SF 157-1581)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: 1-19-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from SF [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

- JAN 12 1971

#2 9:19 am jhm ic

[REDACTED], calling from New York, to [REDACTED] advising that the NCCF Office in Winston-Salem has just been vamped on by the pigs. [REDACTED] said they had been talking with them on the telephone when the phone went dead. He said if they could get someone down there, or could talk with someone there and get more information he would call in another report. Right on.

REC-65

EX-111

JAN 22 1971

2 - BUREAU RM  
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM  
2 - NEW YORK (100-161993) RM

56 JAN 27 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1-12-71

Previous information received that Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Police Department obtained search warrant after a stolen meat delivery truck was observed at a house believed to be new Black Panther Party (BPP) headquarters in Winston-Salem.

Attached relates that BPP member and a 15-year-old youth were arrested after police officers used tear gas in execution of search warrant. Police officials fired a rally of shots after a shot believed to have been fired from the house. No injuries reported.

We were subsequently advised that police located several weapons and the stolen meat. According to sources, following the search, members of the BPP plan to send out sniper teams to retaliate against the police.

Copies of attached and subsequent copies sent Inter-Division Information Unit Internal Security Division and Special Interdivisional Unit of the Department. Pertinent parts will be included in the White House racial teletype.

ABK:lrs

Addendum: Subsequent information from Charlotte stated the night of 1/12/71 was exceptionally quiet with no racial incidents.

105-165706-8-392

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR005 CE PLAIN

JAN 12 1971

2:20PM URGENT 1-12-71 RGJ

TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8), NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO  
FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171) 3 (P)

Racial Matter

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

AT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN FIFTY A.M., THE HOUSE AT ONE ONE TWO SEVEN EAST TWENTY THIRD STREET, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. WAS SURROUNDED BY OFFICERS OF WINSTON-SALEM POLICE DEPARTMENT AND FORSYTH COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE. AFTER GIVING OCCUPANTS THREE MINUTES TO COME OUT, TWO TEAR GAS SHELLS WERE FIRED AT LOWER WINDOWS, BUT THEY BOUNCED OFF APPARENT FORTIFICATIONS. THEREAFTER THIRD TEAR GAS SHELL WAS FIRED INTO AN UPPER WINDOW.

AT TWELVE ZERO TWO P.M. SHOT WAS FIRED, BELIEVED TO HAVE COME FROM PANTHER HEADQUARTERS AND A VOLLEY OF SHOTS WERE RETURNED BY LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS. THEREAFTER SOMEONE YELLED TO HOLD FIRE AND TWO MEN, LATER IDENTIFIED AS GRADY FULLER AND WILLIE COE, EMERGED AND WERE PLACED UNDER ARREST.

END PAGE ONE

REC-94

105-165706-8-392

18 JAN 21 1971

51 JAN 27 1971  
"cc to 105-165706-8-392  
Adm. d. deleted" /SD

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

FULLER IS A KNOWN PANTHER MEMBER AND COE IS A NEGRO MALE, AGE FIFTEEN, WHO RESIDES AT ONE ONE THREE ONE EAST TWENTY THIRD STREET. NEITHER WAS INJURED AND NO INJURIES WERE REPORTED TO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OF EITHER OFFICERS OR INHABITANTS OF THE NEARBY AREA.

THE HOUSE REPORTEDLY CONTAINS GUNS, DUPLICATING EQUIPMENT, TYPEWRITERS AND ADDING MACHINES; HOWEVER, DUE TO TEAR GAS AND SMOKE FROM A FIRE STARTED BY THE TEAR GAS, SEARCH OF THE HOUSE IS BEING DELAYED.

POLICE DEPARTMENT REPORTED THAT NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR., HAS BEEN CHARGED IN A WARRANT WITH ASSAULT AND NOT FOR THEFT AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT WHEN THE TRUCK DRIVER FOR CHATHAM MEAT COMPANY LOCATED THE TRUCK IN FRONT OF THE BLACK PANTHER HEADQUARTERS, MALLOY WAS ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS UNLOADING THE TRUCK AND HE PULLED A GUN ON THE TRUCK DRIVER.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

END PAGE TWO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 15 1971  
TELETYPE

NR003 CE PLAIN

302PM URGENT 1-15-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

0 BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RACIAL MATTERS.

FORSYTH COUNTY DEPUTY SHERIFF [REDACTED] ADVISED  
EVICTION HEARING WAS HELD IN LOCAL COURT, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
TODAY CONCERNING EVICTION OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY CAPTAIN OF DEFENSE  
JULIUS CORNELL FROM ONE SIX ONE SIX EAST TWENTY-THIRD ST.,  
WINSTON SALEM, N. C. THIS RESIDENCE IS USED AS BLACK PANTHER  
HEADQUARTERS AND NO ONE APPEARED AT THIS HEARING. THE COURT  
ORDERED FORSYTH COUNTY SHERIFF TO EVICT OCCUPANTS OF THIS  
ADDRESS. <sup>CHIEF OF POLICE</sup> COP, WINSTON SALEM, N. C., AND FORSYTH COUNTY SHERIFF  
HAVE CONFERRED AND CONFIDENTIALLY PLAN EVICTION FOR SOMETIME  
MONDAY, JANUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED BLACK PANTHERS WERE ADVISED BY MAIL  
SOMETIME AGO OF IMPENDING EVICTION, HOWEVER, THEY CONTINUE  
TO BARRICADE THIS RESIDENCE.

SECRET SERVICE AND MIG ADVISED.

END PAGE ONE

Military

Included in [REDACTED] and Attorney General. Date 1/19/71

54 JAN 27 1971

391  
22 JAN 20 1971

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

  1   Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

          105-165706-8-391 page 2          

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1-15-71

The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism, the only recognized Black Panther Party group in North Carolina, had its headquarters located at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem. However, this headquarters was destroyed by fire on 11-27-70. The headquarters was relocated at 1616 East 23rd Street, which is the residence of Julius Cornell, Captain of Defense.

Attached relates that an eviction <sup>WINS</sup> hearing was held in local court in ~~Western~~ Salem on 1-15-71 and the court ordered eviction which is planned for 1-18-71.

Copy of attached being furnished Internal Security Division and Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department.

ABK:lrs

*cc/waw*  
*cl*  
*WCL*  
*✓*

[ ]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 12 1971

TELETYPE

NR001 CE CODE

1203PM URGENT 1-7-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8 AND 34

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW YORK 100-161993 2P

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Ponder	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), PUBLIC APPEARANCES, RACIAL MATTERS

ON JANUARY FOUR, NINETEEN SEVENTY ONE, NYT - SIXTY SIX,  
A HIGHLY SENSITIVE SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION  
IN THE PAST REPORTED THAT ONE [REDACTED] (PHONETIC), HAD MADE  
INQUIRY OF BPP IN NEW YORK CONCERNING SCHEDULED APPEARANCE OF  
CET (MICHAEL TABOR) AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., ON JANUARY EIGHT,  
NINETEEN SEVENTY ONE FOR SPEECH IN THE EVENT TABOR WAS PRESENTLY  
IN JAIL AND COULD NOT MAKE THE APPEARANCE, [REDACTED] INQUIRED IF  
RICHARD MOORE, AKA., DHARUBA WOULD BE AVAILABLE.

THE DAILY TARHEEL STUDENT NEWSPAPER AT UNC, CHAPEL HILL,  
N. C., AND ITS ISSUE OF JANUARY SEVEN, SEVENTY ONE, SETS FORTH  
THAT RICHARD MOORE, A MEMBER OF BPP IN NEW YORK AND MEMBER  
OF NEW YORK PANTHER TWENTY ONE CURRENT ON TRIAL AT NEW YORK  
CITY FOR CONSPIRACY TO BOMB CHARGES, IS TO SPEAK FRIDAY,  
JANUARY EIGHT, NINETEEN SEVENTY ONE AT POLITICAL SCIENCE CLASS  
NINETY FIVE A. [REDACTED]  
END PAGE ONE

1 JAN 26 1971  
END PAGE ONE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

CE 157-5171

PAGE TWO

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE GROUP ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND CHARLOTTE JANUARY  
FOUR, NINETEEN SEVENTY ONE.

NYT - SIX SIX IS [REDACTED]  
WHOSE INFORMATION WAS REPEATED IN THIS TELETYPE RE RICHARD  
MOORE'S APPEARANCE. [REDACTED] (PHONETIC) IS APPARENTLY  
IDENTICAL WITH [REDACTED] FROM WINSTON-SALEM WHO  
IS [REDACTED]

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW, REPORT PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS  
OBTAINING TAPE RECORDING OF SUBJECT'S SPEECH IF POSSIBLE,  
THEREAFTER SUBMITTING APPROPRIATE COMMUNICATION.

END

DRL FBI WASH DC

CLR

CC- [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] 1724 92D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 18 1971 *X*

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR005 CE PLAIN

5:44 PM URGENT: 1-18-71 ESB

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706) SUB 8)

ATTENTION : DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE SECTION

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM. *5*

AT WINSTON SALEM, N.C., TODAY, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

AT HIGH POINT, N.C., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TRIAL OF JOSEPH ERVIN WADELL ON ARMED ROBBERY CHARGES WAS  
NOT COMPLETED AND WILL BE CONTINUED JANUARY NINETEEN, SEVENTYONE.

NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED TODAY; HOWEVER, APPROXIMATELY TWENTYFIVE  
INDIVIDUALS BELIVED TO BE BPP MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS, WERE IN THE  
COURTROOM.

END PAGE ONE

EX-115

REC-56

105-165706-8-389

"cc to WFOU, SD  
Ad 36 JAN 27 1971 *X*

PAGE TWO

SS AND MIG ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, JANUARY FIFTEEN, SEVENTY ONE.

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW AND KEEP BUREAU ADVISED OF PERTINENT  
DEVELOPMENTS.

END

TRC FBI WASHINGTON DC

CE [REDACTED]

F B I

Date: 1/8/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 12/24/70.

During the previous two weeks, no underground cells or members have been identified or interviewed; and there is no indication that funds are being submitted to any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of the underground or secret caches of weapons obtained. There were no recent acts of violence or unprovoked attacks on police which appear to have been perpetrated by black extremist underground operatives.

During the past two weeks, contacts with [REDACTED] have failed to develop information that any of the purged or ex-members at Winston-Salem, N. C., appear to be operating as underground members of the BPP. These sources have been alerted for unusual acts of the ex-members; however, all appear to be maintaining their own identities, and making no effort to go underground. The only exception is JESSE STITT, who has left Winston-Salem, N. C., and leads are outstanding to verify his present location and activities.

REC-49.

105-165706-8-388

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (RM)  
2 - Charlotte  
THG:mjw  
(5)

62 JAN 13 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.

64 JAN 22 1971

JAN 12 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR0011 CE CODE

905 PM URGENT 1-12-71 ESB

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706SUB 8)

ATTENTION : DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

C BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

[REDACTED] ADVISED

[REDACTED] THAT LARRY LITTLE LT. OF INFORMATION NCCF,  
WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., PLANS TO SEND OUT SNIPER TEAMS TONIGHT  
TO RETALIATE AGAINST POLICE FOR TODAY'S RAID ON BPP HEADQUARTERS.

NEITHER COULD ADVISE SPECIFIC INFORMATION CONCERNING  
IDENTITIES OF SNIPERS OR TIME OR PLACES.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPES TO BUREAU , TODAY.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
CHIEF OF POLICE ON DUTY, CAPTAIN AND FORSTY COUNTY SO,

HAVE BEEN ADVISED AND THIS MATTER IS RECEIVING AGGRESSIVE ATTENTION.

6 JAN 15 1971

END

DEB WA DC FBI QLR

CC ROOM 724 GED

EX 11

"cc to IDIU TASK FORCE  
Adm. data deleted"

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD ✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR007 CE CODE

6:15 PM

URGENT 1-8-71 RSR

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706) ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

NEW YORK (100-161993)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), PUBLIC APPEARANCES, RM DASH BPP

ZAYED SHAKER ARRIVED RALIEGH DURHAM AIRPORT, ELEVEN FIFTYFIVE  
A.M. TODAY ACCOMPANIED BY ONE OTHER NEGRO MALE AND WAS MET BY  
A WHITE MALE WHO TRANSPORTED HIM TO CHAPEL HILL, NC.

CHAPEL HILL, NC, ADVISED THAT SEVEN HUNDRED TO EIGHT  
HUNDRED STUDENTS WERE PRESENT FOR SUBJECT'S SPEECH WHICH  
STARTED AT ONE ZERO FIVE P.M. AND ENDED AT ONE FIFTYFIVE P.M.  
HOWEVER, SUBJECT DID NOT LEAVE UNC CAMPUS UNTIL APPROXIMATELY FOUR  
TEN P.M.

THE SPEECH CONCERNED WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE FACT THAT THE  
BPP HAD NO SET RULES, ACCEPTS AID FROM WHITES AND WILL ALIGN  
WITH ANY ONE WHO WILL HELP THEIR CAUSE.

END PAGE ONE

JAN 14 1971

55 JAN 20 1970

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

SS AND MIG ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:::::::::::::

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK, JANUARY  
SEVEN, SEVENTY ONE, AND NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO CHARLOTTE, TODAY.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

E N D

DEB WA DC FBI CLR

*was recording made?  
4pm*

*see CE 7-0 1/7/71*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 12 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR009 CE CODE

6:12 PM URGENT 1-12-71 ESB

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8)

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

WINSTON-SALEM, NC, PD, REPORTED TWO U.S. MODEL ONE NINE ONE SEVEN THIRTY POINT ZERO SIX RIFLES AND ONE TWELVE GAUGE SHOTGUN ALONG WITH NUMEROUS ITEMS OF OFFICE EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING TYPEWRITERS, DUPLICATING MACHINES, AND TWO CAMERAS WERE LOCATED IN THE NEW BPP HEADQUARTERS, ONE ONE TWO SEVEN EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET ALONG WITH MEAT SILDEN FROM THE CHATHAM MEAT COMPANY TRUCK WHICH REMAINED PARKED IN FRONT OF THE BUILDING AT THE TIME OF THE RAID.

GRADY FULLER HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH FELONIOUS LARCENY AND TWO COUNTS OF ASSAULT WITH A GUN AND WILLIE COE HAS BEEN TURNED OVER TO JUVENILE AUTHORITIES.

END PAGE ONE

50 JAN 20 1971

EX-112

"cc: DIU, TFSK, FORC  
Adm. data deleted"

JAN 13 1971

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

REPORTED NO INFORMATION OF PLANNED REPRISALS BY BPP AGAINST WINSTON-  
SALEM, N.C., PD, HOWEVER, THE GROUP IS TO MEET TONIGHT TO DISCUSS  
THE ARREST AND OTHER ACTIVITIES.

PD REPORTS THE IDENTIFICATION OF NELSON LEE MALLOY AS BEING  
INVOLVED IN THE THEFT OF THE MEAT TRUCK AND THE ASSAULT ON THE  
TRUCK DRIVER MAY HAVE BEEN IN ERROR. POSSIBILITY EXIST<sup>S</sup> THAT THE  
ASSAULT WARRANT AGAINST MALLOY MAY BE WITHDRAWN.

SS AND MIG ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPES TO BUREAU, TODAY.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NCIC NEGATIVE REGARDING SERIAL NUMBERS OF THE ABOVE GUNS AND  
PD CHECKING SERIAL NUMBERS OF OFFICE EQUIPMENT THROUGH NCIC AS  
OBTAINED, NOTING DIFFICULTY EXIST<sup>S</sup> DUE TO TEAR GAS RESIDUE AND  
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

EXAMINATION BY PD MAY NOT BE COMPLETED ON ALL EVIDENCE FOR TWO OR THREE DAYS.

CHARLOTTE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND HAS ALERTED SOURCES CONCERNING POSSIBLE REPRISALS AGAINST THE PD AND BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

DEB WA DC FBI CLR

C [REDACTED]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Brennan  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

NR001 CE PLAIN

543AM URGENT 1-13-71 JMC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

CONTACT WITH

AT FIVE A.M. THIS DATE REVEALED NIGHT OF JANUARY TWELVE  
DASH THIRTEEN, NINETEEN SEVENTYONE WAS EXCEPTIONABLY QUIET  
WITH NO RACIAL INCIDENTS AND LESS THAN NORMAL OTHER ACTIVITY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPES TO BUREAU, JANUARY TWELVE, LAST.

END "cc to ~~ADM~~ TASK FORCE  
Adm. data deleted"

DCW  
FBI WASH DC CLR

ST-103

105-165706-8-384

*Info in the tel incorporated  
in memo of previous tel from C. re.  
H. Miller. JMC*

cc [redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 12 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PPE CE PLAIN

12:30 PM URGENT 1-12-71 DCC  
TO DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8)  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

Racial Matter

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM

Police Department

THE WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., PD, REPORTED THAT TODAY A TRUCK OF CHATHAM MEAT COMPANY, SILER CITY, N.C., WAS STOLEN FROM FIFTEENTH AND JACKSON STREETS, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., AND APPROXIMATELY TEN MINUTES LATER, THE OWNER LOCATED THE TRUCK AT ONE ONE TWO SEVEN EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET, WHERE THREE MEN WERE OBSERVED CARRYING MEAT INTO THE HOUSE AT THAT ADDRESS WHICH IS BELIEVED THE NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS.

A SEARCH WARRANT HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR ONE ONE TWO THREE EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET TO ALLOW THE PD TO SEARCH THE HOUSE FOR THE MEAT AND AN ARREST WARRANT HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR., LEADER IN THE LOCAL BPP GROUP, CHARGING HIM WITH THEFT AS HE WAS IDENTIFIED AS ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED.

END PAGE ONE

105-165706-8-383

EX-112

9 JAN 13 1971

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

AS OF ELEVEN FIFTY AM THE PD WAS CONTEMPLATING CONDUCTING  
A SEARCH OF ONE ONE TWO THREE EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET, LATER TODAY.

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW AND KEEP BUREAU ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT  
DEVELOPMENTS.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

END

E

RSP FBI WASH DC

FBI

Date: 12/4/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
 WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
 RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed  
 by [REDACTED] and observations by  
 Special Agents of the FBI.

Organization and Status

National Committee to Combat Fascism  
 1602 East 14th Street  
 Winston-Salem, North Carolina

This headquarters burned 11/27/70 and the group is  
 attempting to relocate in the same area, reportedly in the  
 1600 block of East 23rd Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte

THG: bgs  
 (6)

REC 27

4 DEC 2 1970

RECEIVED FBI. SEC. 1

Approved: [Signature]

53 JAN 18 1971 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Membership

<u>Assigned</u>	<u>In Jail</u>	<u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u>
19	2	1	16

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., has reportedly not returned from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention and is believed to be in New York. JAMES FORD returned from Augusta, Ga., and is now a fugitive; whereabouts unknown on UFAP - Armed Robbery charges stemming from his activities while at Augusta, Ga.

Leaders

Leadership consists of JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense; LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant; HAZEL MAE MACK, Communications Secretary, and RICKIE ALTHEA HOOPER who is handling newspaper distribution and finances.

BPP Pads

House, 1600 block, East 23rd St.  
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Note headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street burned 11/27/70 and is not in operation; however, group is moving to a house in the 1600 block of East 23rd Street, exact street address unknown.

1386 Wilson Street  
Winston-Salem, N. C.  
(Described as barracks in the Boston Section of Winston-Salem; however, eviction proceedings in process.)

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Public Appearances of BPP Members  
Within the Charlotte Division

None

Arrests and Convictions

Date	Name	Place	Charge	Disposition
------	------	-------	--------	-------------

Acquisition of Weapons

No additional information received.

PART II

The following is a summary of BPP activities within the Charlotte Division during the month of November, 1970:

The group continues to receive and sell the Black Panther Party newspaper when they have the money to purchase papers; however, they skipped two weeks due to lack of funds.

3

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The main activity was in connection with the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention with members of the Winston-Salem group traveling to High Point, Raleigh, Chapel Hill, Lumberton and Charlotte, N. C., in this regard. In connection with these activities, they are attempting to establish branches at High Point and Lumberton, N. C., staffed by members from Winston-Salem. One U-Haul truck and three automobiles were used to transport the group to Washington for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

4

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 8 1971

TELETYPE

NR003 CE CODE

413PM URGENT 1-8-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION; RM.

ON JANUARY EIGHT INSTANT CONTACT WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND OBSERVATIONS  
BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI DETERMINED NO DEMONSTRATION  
OCCURRED AT THE HIGH POINT, N. C., COURTHOUSE ON JANUARY EIGHT  
INSTANT DURING THE HOURS COURT WAS IN SESSION.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU, JANUARY SEVEN LAST.

CHARLOTTE WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH APPROPRIATE SOURCES

AND [REDACTED] NOTING TRIAL OF JOSEPH  
ERWIN WADDELL WILL OCCUR ON JANUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.

END

DEB WA DC FBI CLR

REC-57

105-165706-8-381

4 JAN 13 1971

54 JAN 14 1971

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

DATE: 1-12-71

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#2 1:10pm gr ic JAN 1 1971

[REDACTED] (ph) to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] says she has been working with [REDACTED] for three weeks, says she is going to the University and has only one semester to go but feels she may have to give it up to work more with the party. [REDACTED] suggests she stay and bring back the knowledge she gains to work with the party and the people. [REDACTED] also speaks to a brother from Lumberton (ph), N.C. and then to [REDACTED], who says he'll submit a report on their activities, tells of activities they have going.

REC 74

105-165706-8-380

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 1 - SF

3 JAN 13 1971



51 JAN 18 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED SEC.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: 1-12-71

FROM : [REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 and 1336-1/2 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#5 9:02AM OG CEN

JAN 2 1971

[REDACTED]. She wants to know when he is going to Winston Salem. He states they don't have ~~ex~~ enough money for the tickets. She received a call from Memphis yesterday and they want to know ~~xx~~ when WARREN LITTLE is coming to SF. She dosent know.

REQ 20

105-165706-8-379

4 JAN 13 1971

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 2 - MEMPHIS (157-1205) RM
- 3 - SF



51 JAN 18 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYP

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan QJ  
Mr. Callahan 11  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT CODE

442PM URGENT 1-7-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2 P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

ON JANUARY [REDACTED] WHO HAS [REDACTED]  
FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST REPORTED THAT  
MEMBERS OF THE WINSTON-SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT  
FASCISM, BPP AFFILIATED GROUP, WERE CALLING FOR SUPPORT FROM  
NEGROES AT WINSTON-SALEM, GREENSBORO, AND HIGH POINT, N. C.,  
IN A DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING THE TRIAL OF JOE DELL, A PANTHER  
MEMBER WHO IS TO APPEAR IN COURT ON ARMED ROBBERY CHARGES AT  
HIGH POINT, N. C.

ON JANUARY SEVEN, SEVENTYONE, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT JOE DELL, TRUE NAME JOSEPH ERWIN WADDELL, IS  
TO BE TRIED ON ARMED ROBBERY CHARGES JANUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.  
END PAGE ONE.

REC-71

105-165706-8-378

4 JAN 13 1971

51 JAN 14 1971

"cc to [REDACTED]  
Adm. data deleted"

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

██████ ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND LEAFLETS HAD BEEN PUT OUT IN THE SOUTHSIDE OF HIGH POINT CALLING FOR A DEMONSTRATION AT NINE AM, JANUARY EIGHT, SEVENTYONE, IN SUPPORT OF WADDELL, CLAIMING HE COULD NOT RECEIVE A FAIR TRIAL.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS, NOTING THE APPARENT MIXUP IN DATES BETWEEN JANUARY EIGHT AND EIGHTEEN.

END

EBR FBI WASH DC

*CC Trainor*

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

  1   Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

F B I

Date: 1/4/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

Re Savannah report of SA [REDACTED]

It was noted during review of Page 4 of referenced report that [REDACTED] provided information concerning a list of weapons that were or had already been sent to Georgia. This list including ten AK 47 rifles and two grenade launchers.

Several different sources and informants have provided information on the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) in Winston-Salem, N.C., and [REDACTED] information concerning this group. There has never been any indication that this organization had in its possession any number of automatic rifles or grenade launchers.

[REDACTED] have given short impromptu discussions on firearms at NCCF headquarters and one of these gave a short discussion of the M-16 rifle, using a diagram as no automatic weapons were available for actual display.

REC 18 105-165706-8-376

Information received indicates they do have rifles that are not fully automatic and some shotguns.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Savannah (157-1430) (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)  
(1 - 157-6171 Sub H)

DBM:egp

(7) 54 JAN 14 1971

22 JAN 7 1971

RECEIVED  
FBI  
SECTION

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
CE 157-6171 (Priority)

It should also be noted that informants in the past have been targeted specifically to developing information concerning weapons available to this group and this will continue.

Any information developed indicating the NCCF in Winston-Salem, N.C., might have access to automatic weapons, will be immediately brought to the attention of the Bureau.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) DATE: 1/6/71

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7711) (RUC)

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to Director, 12/4/70 and Charlotte letter to Director, 1/5/71.

A review of Charlotte files reflects that all pertinent information regarding captioned convention has been reported and this case will be considered Ruc'd.

In the event additional information is obtained, it will immediately be furnished to the Bureau and other interested offices.

2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - WFO (157-3149) (RM)  
2 - Charlotte

THG:egp  
(5)

EX-115

REC-79

105-165706-8-375

13 JAN 11 1971

INT. SEC.



55 JAN 15 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

DATE: DEC 31 1970

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

DEC 18 1970

# 11:00a ac rb

[REDACTED] to UNMAN requesting they print an article describing the mistreatment of Blacks at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. [REDACTED] SAID HE Was from Baltimore but had personal knowledge that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both stationed at Lejeune have been mistreated on base and in Jacksonville, N. C.

CHAS  
200B  
1004

REC-52 105-165706-8-374

SI JAN 7 1971

54 JAN 15 1971  
2 - BUREAU RM  
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-1291) RM  
2 - BALTIMORE (157-3241) RM  
2 - SF

1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS (157-1581)  
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



FBI

Date: 12/9/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM-EPP

The following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source on 12/4/70.

[REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contacted BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California, on 12/4/70, to announce that they had a new office, located at 1616 East 23rd Street. They were also still working out of their old center, at 1378 Wilson Street, and were planning on opening a branch in High Point, North Carolina. As yet, they had no telephone in Winston-Salem.

[REDACTED] said that the BPP sympathizers in North Carolina were taking advantage of a situation created when the "Pigs" came on a campus of an unnamed college and "beat-up" some Black students. He said the Black students were boycotting all the schools in Winston-Salem and some of them were becoming involved in a Revolutionary Students Movement and were attending political education classes. Some parents also were now forming a Parents Progressive Union and [REDACTED] planned to attend one of their meetings on this date.

EX-111

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)
- (1 - 157-NCCE, Winston-Salem)

1 - San Francisco (157-2861)  
WAC/krh  
(6)

REC-32 105-165706-8-373

DEC 11 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.

61 JAN 2 1971

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

██████████ said that he expected to get "ripped off" for inciting a riot because he had already been accused of contaminating the minds of students. ██████████ told ██████████ that he was very pleased with this news, but reminded him to work closely with the other Brothers there, especially an individual named NELSON, last name not given.

██████████ then went on to blame former New York Captain ROBERT BAY for fouling things up in North Carolina and ██████████ reminded ██████████ that ROBERT BAY did not run the BPP and that he took orders like everyone else from the Central Committee.

██████████ complained about having problems with a girl named HAZEL, but he thought he had the matter straightened out.

██████████ then reminded ██████████ that the National Headquarters was now known as the Central Headquarters.

██████████ suggested that when the BPP planned to put another house from which to organize their activity they should go back to their old base at "old froggy". ██████████ said that this would be good, but that the redevelopment agency was moving into the area and disrupting everything.

██████████ then returned to the problems at High Point, North Carolina, claiming that area was really ripe for BPP action and that was why they were opening the branch up there.

██████████ wanted to get in touch with JANE FONDA in New York and it was suggested that TOM JOLLY of the New York BPP was the one to work with in order to reach her. ██████████ said they really needed money and expected to have a benefit performance in the near future. He, therefore, wanted to get JANE FONDA to come speak at a white college which would bring in more money. ██████████ asked ██████████ to intercede with the newspaper office for Winston-Salem so that they could receive newspapers to sell, even though they had not been able to send in any money in the recent past. ██████████ said that the Circulation Manager, SAM NAPIER, had put out an instruction that no one would get any newspapers unless they had paid for them, but he would see if he could get an exception made in their case.

SF 157-2861  
WAC/krh

They next discussed a possible trip of HUEY P. NEWTON to the South and [REDACTED] claimed that while this was in the planning stage, it was considered it would be a very hazardous venture and it was not sure that HUEY would make the trip.

The above material is furnished to the Charlotte Division to indicate the extent of activity presently being undertaken by [REDACTED] of the NCCF in Winston-Salem.

F B I

Date: 12/22/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**  
**FINANCES**  
**RACIAL MATTERS**

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, 11/20/70.

100-111111

The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) continues to be the only recognized Black Panther Party affiliate in N. C. Their headquarters at 1602 East 14th St., Winston-Salem, N. C., was damaged by fire 11/27/70 and they temporarily relocated at 1616 East 23rd Street, residence of Captain of Defense JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR.

A. Sources of Income

During 11/70 the group received three shipments of newspapers, one of which was 1800 papers, the other was reported as 1048 papers each. In addition, LARRY LITTLE received from JANE FONDA, the actress who appeared at Chapel Hill, N. C., a check for \$1,000. It was also reported that \$700 was to be paid to Winston-Salem, 11/25/70. RICKIE ALTHEA HOOPER continues to be in charge of newspaper sales and HAZEL MACK, Secretary appears to be handling finances.

B. Foreign Sources

None reported.

C. Expenses

REC 27 105-165706-8-372

Twelve and a half cents per copy of each newspaper would have to be sent to Black Panther Party headquarters, California. This is estimated at \$543.50.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-1485) (RM)  
2 - Charlotte  
THG:bcb

NO DEC 26 1970

(5)  
58 JAN 8 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED] or rental of the pad at 1386 East Wilson Street. There are no known salaries or skimming by officials, however, expenses for full time members are paid for by the party. One of the members borrowed an automobile which he damaged to the extent of \$25 and four of the members gave blood donations to obtain this \$25. Fifty dollars was paid for deposit on a truck rental for transportation to the Revolutionary People's National Convention. The rental on this truck was over \$50, however, the Hertz Co., is not pressing for additional money.

#### D. Operations

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., continues as overall leader and HAZEL MACK continues to handle finances. Their dealings continue to be in cash and according to sources, they remain in financial difficulty. The \$1,000 obtained from JANE FONDA was for the purpose of making bail for a member, JOE WADDELL, who is in jail in High Point, N. C., on Armed Robbery charges. WADDELL remains in jail and the money was used for other purposes such as payments to Black Panther Party headquarters and back newspaper expenses. Information of [REDACTED] (SF T-22) indicates the group has an indebtedness to Black Panther Party headquarters for newspapers, but the amount has not been furnished.

#### E. Miscellaneous

##### Income

Newspaper sales (approximation)	\$ 543.50
Contributions from JANE FONDA	1000.00
Money from Boston for RPCC	700.00
Total income	<u>2243.50</u>

-2-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Other contributions according to sources were almost non-existent.

Expenses

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Newspaper payment	543.50
Deposit on truck	<u>50.00</u>
Total expenses	\$683.50

It is noted that no estimation can be made for the number of unsold newspapers or personal expenses for full time members.

Sources continue to report the group remains in financial difficulties and are having problems selling the newspapers with bad weather and leadership, claim they are unable to keep the members out on the streets selling the papers which has cut down both their contact with the people and their income.

[REDACTED] The group continues to be unable to obtain a telephone due to non-payment of their previous bills.

[REDACTED] was contacted by Bureau Agent due to the fact that she is a "hanger on" with the group and possibly has influence with [REDACTED] however, she refused to be interviewed.

-3-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 12/24/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 12/11/70.

During the previous two weeks, no underground cells or members have been identified or interviewed; and there is no indication that funds are being submitted to any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of the underground or secret caches of weapons obtained. There were no recent acts of violence or unprovoked attacks on police which appear to have been perpetrated by black extremist underground operatives.

1-8100  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (RM)  
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)  
THG:mjw  
(5)

EX-113

REC 8

17 DEC 28 1970

Approved: [Signature]  
51 JAN 7 1971 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

105-165706-8

DATE: DEC 29 1970

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 and 1336-1/2 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#6 10:28pm vlk og

SF3259 R 3 DEC 15 1970

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED] at Winston Salem, [REDACTED] complains their papers arrived late because they were shipped on the wrong airline: TWA. They came only last Sunday night. [REDACTED] says this is their fault as they had someone new on the job. [REDACTED] says any complaints should be given to [REDACTED] for [REDACTED]

ST 117  
REC-94

105-165706-8-370

JAN 4 1971

- 1 - BUREAU RM  
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM  
6 - SF

- 1 - SAN FRANCISCO BLACK PANTHER PARTY - SF(157-1640)  
1 - COMMUNITY WORKERS SF(157-5936)



JAN 12 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

DATE: DEC 29 1970

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 and 1336-1/2 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#4 11:56 AM NBN IC [REDACTED]

DEC 16 1970

[REDACTED] called from HIGH POINT, NC for [REDACTED] told him that [REDACTED] wasnt there, but she will have him call back when he comes in. [REDACTED] shud be there in 15 minutes. [REDACTED] gave his phone as 919-[REDACTED] remarked that his papers for last week went astray and they didnt get them until Sunday. ??????

REC-73 105-165706-8-369

EX-113

- (2) - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 4 - SF

1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS SF(157-1581)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

DATE: 12/24/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

For the information of the Bureau, copy of Order of Dismissal was received from USA, WDNC, in the case captioned, "BEN CHAVIS, ET AL, vs. J. C. GOODMAN, JR., ET AL, SN 4290, USDC, WDNC" which sets forth that upon motion and consent of the Plaintiffs in open court, this action was dismissed without prejudice, 11/16/70 and signed by Judge JAMES B. MC MILLAN.

It is noted this suit filed by the now defunct group at Charlotte, N. C., who desires affiliation with the BPP and including among the defendants, SA L. DEAN PAARMANN.

2-Bureau<sup>RM</sup>  
2-Charlotte

THG:tld  
(4)

EX 105

105-165706-8-368

11 DEC 30 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-01

5 JAN 11 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 12/11/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 11/27/70.

During the previous two weeks, no underground cells or members have been identified or interviewed; and there is no indication that funds are being submitted to any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of the underground or secret caches of weapons obtained. There were no recent acts of violence or unprovoked attacks on police which appear to have been perpetrated by black extremist underground operatives.

It is noted that referenced airtel identified five individuals purged from the group at Winston-Salem, N. C. Investigation has determined that all, with the exception of JESSE STITT, are in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area; and there has been no information that any are involved in racial activities or operating in such a manner as to appear to be underground operatives for the BPP. JESSE STITT was reported \_\_\_\_\_ as possibly working at New Haven, Connecticut, for Remington Arms Company. Source stated that STITT claims the local National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) chapter was operated by "fools," they were doing nothing constructive, and he might as well live a straight life. The other individuals from Winston-Salem, N. C., who were purged and their friends who dropped out of the group at Winston-Salem have never been referred to as underground members but only as "renegades."

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (RM)  
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

THG:rep

5)

REC 16

105-165706-8-367

22 DEC 17 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

that the group had talked about this but LARRY LITTLE, the leader, believes all members are too well known to go underground locally and, in addition, "The people's struggle must be seen by the people."

Investigation continuing.

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-366 enclosure pages 2-8

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X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina  
December 18, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RACIAL MATTERS

---

On November 27, 1970, information was received  
from [REDACTED]  
that the Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, 1602 East  
14th Street caught on fire shortly after 1 P.M.  
[REDACTED]

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS  
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YOUR AGENCY.

105-16540 366  
ENCLOSURE

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached to this memorandum as an appendix.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/16/70

[REDACTED]  
advised the property at 1602 East 14th Street  
[REDACTED]

On that date the above listed residence was searched in the presence of [REDACTED] and the following items were obtained from the residence with [REDACTED] permission.

On 12/9/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-6171  
by SAs [REDACTED] and sjw Date dictated 12/10/70

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of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

Class-revolutionary martyrdom is a thing which is not in the interests of the people and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them—can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

We must not become complacent ever any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

#### LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly-wise and play safe and seal only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent one's spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Party. This is a seventh type.

VERNON CRITCHFIELD

MALCOLM X UNITED  
LIBERATION FRONT  
317 N. MACOMB STREET  
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301

*Friday*  
National Committee to Combat Racism  
1602 E. 14th St.  
Albany - Salem, North Carolina 27105



that it might take you the next  
25 years to finish paying for the  
house. If this government saw a need  
to build houses for people of low income  
then the people should be able to pay for  
the house in a shorter length of time.  
They have it set up so that it takes almost  
the rest of your's lifetime pay. This is  
just another way to oppress the people.  
Everyone knows that ~~it is one of the~~  
housing is one of the basic needs of  
the people.

Explain deeper about the  
Exploitation of the Poor. See 1  
into it deeper.

On orders from the Ministry of Education, we have moved to take all troops back over the Ten Point Platform and Program, Three Main rules Of Discipline, Motto, Cardinal Rules of the Party, and the Twenty-six General Rules. We are now having vigorous Political Education classes and we are trying to instill conscience discipline in the troops as far as their studies are concerned.

Technical Equipment classes are being intensified so that all troops will know how to operate and service weapons correctly to the fullest extent.

#### (Political Education Classes for the Community)

Political education classes for the community are held on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:00 until 9:00. Classes range from 5 to 30 people. Usually we will go over articles in the newspaper or some events that went down in the community. We're trying to get the people from the community P.E. classes to move to a higher level and take part in the programs for the people.

#### Existing Programs

At this time the only consistent program we have is the Free Breakfast For Children Program. The attendance is very poor at both sites. Most of this can be attributed to school children having to catch buses so early in the morning. However, I think that we are going to have to move to intensify door to door work with the program and try to obtain more transportation for the children. We try very hard to make the school bus and still be assured of getting to school in time.

1. Handguns con't.

C. Balance of Power. Armed with any of the following pieces the teaching of Huey P. Newton, and the correct military tactics you will be more than a match for the pig.

1. 357 Mag. (this piece will crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piercing.)

2. 41 Mag.

3. 44 Mag.

2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.) When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart, for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken into consideration are repair parts and ammo. Odd Cal. weapons must be discouraged and stress should be placed on getting the cal. of weapons that the pigs will have ammo for.

1. Suicide Specials (little more effective than being hit by a fly.)

a. 22 rifles (except the 22-290, .223, 22 Mag.)

b. .410 Shotgun (this is a shotgun in name only as far as ammo are concerned. It shoots a shot about the size of babies.)

2. SHOTGUNS: Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 gauge pump is very effective. Only double 0 buckshot or rifle slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels-----use OOB

1. 20 inches--2 1/2 inches effective up to 75 yds. (3/4 block)

2. 18 inches-shortest legal length that can be bought in gun store.

3. Sawed off-very effective for ripping off and close combat 0-25 yds (1/4 block)

B. Long Barrel-----OOB or Rifled slugs.

1. 26-28 inches---Range 100 yds (one block)

2. 28-32 inches---Best guns effective up to 1 1/2 blocks.

3. RIFLES: Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.

... Bolt actions: These should be equipped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.

Lonnie--Continued . . . page 3

Then it began. "Kidnapping resulting in death" (a capital offense) -- Not guilty.

Lonnie, standing and facing the jury, grabbed the hand of his lawyer and waived for the next charge.

Conspiracy to kidnap (possible 30-year sentence) -- Not guilty.

Then it came: "Conspiracy to murder, what is your verdict?" "Guilty, your honor."

Gasps from the spectators. A jolt running through Lonnie's body, and he waited for the final charge -- binding, which carries a 50-year penalty.

"Not guilty, your honor."

Then, while everyone was trying to understand what had happened, the judge was thanking the jury and setting Sept. 18 for Lonnie's sentencing (maximum penalty, 15 years in jail).

Did the jury, mostly white, middle class, middle-aged, despite the blatant collaboration of the prosecution and the judge, despite the flaming headlines in the pig press, headlines which convicted Lonnie before he ever went on trial, want to completely acquit the Black Panther and put him back free, on the streets? Did the jury finally compromise because they were afraid they'd be kept sequestered until they did? Did they know that "conspiracy to murder" was the lightest of the charges?

The burst of questions on the New Haven Green when the verdict came down were stilled momentarily when the spirited crowd marches through downtown New Haven, demanding that all political prisoners be freed.

Lonnie still faces first degree murder charges in another county for the same incident. His lawyers will appeal this charge as double jeopardy. They also plan to appeal Lonnie's conviction. The other members of the New Haven 9, including Bobby Scale, must still stand trial this fall and winter, with Lonnie's conspiracy conviction on the books.

So, in the words of the Chip Smith Charge, the "doubt in the mind" or "a dissenting juror" was "a reasonable one" after all -- the government must be gnashing its teeth because all the machinery it put into motion wasn't enough to send Lonnie McClucas to his death. All political prisoners and prisoners of war will be freed!

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept 18, AP -- Lonnie was sentenced to 12-to-15 years in prison today for his conviction of a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. (Maximum penalty was 15 years for the charge.) Bond was set at \$35,000.

ESSAYS FROM  
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
HUBY P. NEWTON

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

June 20, 1967

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: "...whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world.

Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering peoples. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slave-masters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America than the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential

power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenomenal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the brutal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformed into the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive - non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, it is unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all cost remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were tied to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically he does the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, endorsed spokesman, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesman as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesman looks upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If any thing, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesman off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesman have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesman into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act-- murder, imprisonment, or exile -- to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs -- food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones. The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to dine with white people in a restaurant while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden Black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Brass roots-- the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchief heads

kerchief hands endorsed by the power structure the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman that could be dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm in our time stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen in a bad that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and taking first things first are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

**POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT  
for Black Panther Party Members**

**Primary Objective Objective of Our Party:  
To Establish Revolutionary Political Power  
for Black People**

The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting: besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our Party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organizing them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

**CARDINAL RULE: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party**

**NOTE: We do not Want War. We Are The Advocates of the Abolition of War, But War Can Only Be Abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, It Is Necessary to Pick Up the Gun.**

**All Power to the People  
Black Power to Black People**

Not to see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself. This is an eleventh type.

TOWARD A NEW CONSTITUTION

by

Huey P. Newton

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BANDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND OF NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATE.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS. PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHOWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAT TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Plenary Session

Workshop: Control and Use of the Educational System

1. Liberation schools set-up for pre-school age children
2. Entering school with a political consciousness
3. Community control of schools:
  - a. Parents controlling curriculum
  - b. Community election board officers
  - c. Power to hire and fire teachers belongs to community elected board
4. Intellectual and cultural education shall be available to all persons:
  - a. Education will deal with the means of survival of the various portions of society
  - b. Education for students will deal with the student as an individual
  - c. The workings of the system on political education should be taught for constant political consciousness
  - d. Schools and institutes will make advanced study available free to any person
  - e. The schools will encourage all persons to expand and realize their creative aspirations. It will especially encourage study in socialist society, human survival, and the truth and workings of the present society

Students' Rights

1. Students in any school will have the right to freedom of speech, dress, and assembly
2. Student government should be controlled by the students
  - a. No rules set-up for who runs for office, ex., grades, conduct, politics, participation in other activities
  - b. Student controlled press (paper), student board to decide what goes in paper and what does not go in
  - c. Freedom to assembly whenever problems arise that the students feel should be solved collectively on a face to face basis
  - d. Student activities not mandatory
  - e. Assemblies left to student decision in accordance with what they feel to be relevant in what things directly relate to them
  - f. No guards in schools for any reason. Community and students will deal with all problems, major or minor
  - g. Students decide their courses according to what they want and think they need. No set curriculum. Courses will be fit to students, not students to the courses
  - h. New grading system established.

All Power to the People!

We the people believe that education should serve the people. It should expose the true nature of this society. Education should assist in teaching us our socialist ideas, and stand as a basis for our socialist practice.

The power of education should and will belong in the hands of the people. We believe that education plays a major role in this system of programming. So we the people must penetrate and seize this tool of the power structure and turn it into a weapon to be used against it.

STATEMENT OF DEMANDS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
FROM THE USA REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL GAY LIBERATION

WE DEMAND:

1. THE RIGHT TO BE GAY ANYTIME, ANYPLACE.
2. THE RIGHT TO FREE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHOICE AND MODIFICATION OF SEX UPON DEMAND.
3. THE RIGHT OF FREE DRESS AND ADORNMENT.
4. THAT ALL MODES OF HUMAN SEXUAL SELF-EXPRESSION DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE LAW, AND SOCIAL SANCTION.
5. EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN A NON-SEXIST, NON-POSSESSIVE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL PEOPLE TO CREATE.
6. THAT A FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PRESENT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF HUMAN SEXUALITY, WITHOUT ADVOCATING ANY ONE FORM OR STYLE; THAT SEX ROLES AND SEX DETERMINED SKILLS BE NOT FOSTERED BY THE SCHOOLS.
7. THAT LANGUAGE BE MODIFIED SO THAT NO GENDER TAKE PRIORITY.
8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM BE RUN BY THE PEOPLE THRU PEOPLE'S COURTS; THAT ALL PEOPLE BE TRIED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR PEER GROUP.
9. THAT GAYS BE REPRESENTED IN ALL GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
10. THAT ORGANIZED RELIGIONS BE CONDEMNED FOR AIDING IN THE GENOCIDE OF GAY PEOPLE, AND ENJOINED FROM TEACHING HATEFUL AND SUPERSTITION.
11. THAT PSYCHIATRY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE ENJOINED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SHOCK TREATMENT, BRAINWASHING, IMPRISONMENT, ETC.
12. THE ABOLITION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY BECAUSE IT PERPETUATES THE FALSE CATEGORIES OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND HETEROSEXUALITY.
13. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF AND REPARATIONS FOR GAY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM PRISON AND MENTAL INSTITUTIONS, THE SUPPORT BY GAY POLITICAL PRISONERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS.
14. THAT GAYS DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES.
15. THAT ALL PEOPLE SHARE EQUALLY THE LABOR AND PRODUCTS OF SOCIETY, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION.
16. THAT TECHNOLOGY BE USED TO LIBERATE ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FROM DEGRADATION.
17. THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF GAYS IN THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.
18. FINALLY, THE END OF DOMINATION OF ONE PERSON BY ANOTHER.

GAY POWER TO GAY PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SINCE THE TIME

-2-

STATEMENT OF THE HELL HOMOSEXUAL WORKSHOP

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE COMPLETED UNTIL ALL MEN ARE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR LOVE FOR ONE ANOTHER SEXUALLY. WE AFFIRM THE SEXUALITY OF OUR LOVE. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTS US ALL FROM EXPRESSING OUR TOTAL REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, WE DEFINE AS SEXISM.

SEXISM IS A POLICY OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF HUMAN BEINGS COMES TO SOME THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWERS, OR POLICIES, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS PRIMARILY MANIFESTED ON A RACE, ETHNICITY AND HOMOSEXUAL ORIENTATION. SINCE IN THE SHORT RUN SEXISM ENFORCES CERTAIN BEHAVIORS ON GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IT CANNOT SERVE ALL THE PEOPLE, AND PREVENTS THE FORMING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAIGHT MEN.

SEXISM IS IDENTIFIABLE, UNJUST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. SEXISM PREVENTS THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE.

WE DEMAND THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SEXISM BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. WE DEMAND THAT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES FIGHT INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, WITH THEIR OWN SEXISM.

WE RECOGNIZE AS A VANGUARD REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE HON. P. HENRIK STENHOLM'S STATEMENT ON GAY LIBERATION. WE RECOGNIZE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS BEING THE VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT US."

AN ARMY OF LOVERS CANNOT LOSE.

### III. THE FIGHT TO THE PEOPLE

The revolutionary Asians of I Wor Kuen extend our fraternal support to all our Third world brothers and sisters and especially our struggling brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. We understand that all peoples of color throughout the world are oppressed by the racist pig american system. And we see that all our struggles lead to one common goal: the total destruction of the american fascist state.

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within america are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, indentured, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Americans have suffered all possible forms of oppression under this capitalist system. Chinese were brought to California to work as forced laborers in railroads, mines, swamps, plantations and cities of the white imperialists. By 1890 from railroad and land reclamation projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for \$269,000, that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did these honky pigs steal from us but they did everything else conceivable to oppress us. Asians have been beaten, massacred and mutilated by mobs of racist white dogs. When we finished building up the west, the herds of greedy expansionist white people crowded into California and forced us into isolated urban ghettos where we have had to struggle for a meager existence ever since.

This country's racist treatment of Asian people reached new heights, of brutality during the second world war when hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese men women and child were forced into concentration camps. In the name of protection of democracy the fascist pigs considered before Congress a law to castrate all Japanese males.

In the midst of all this oppression it is easy to see why so much false and despicable racist stereotypes against yellow people had developed. Because yellow people were forced to enslave themselves through economic necessity to the most degrading and humiliating work as domestics, cooking gardeners and the worst of all, as houseboys, many people say that Asians are passive and have not struck back against this avaricious monster. But history has shown and will continue to show that we have a long record of dealing with pigs. Because we have had no constitutional rights as human beings, whites have constantly invaded our communities to vent their racist insecurities by brutalizing yellow people. But it was not long before we picked up the gun and chased these renegade dogs out, serving them notices that their next orbit would be in a pine box. This struggle of day to day survival goes on unceasingly. Working class Asians, who emigrate from other imperialist colonies abroad have faced such treacherous exploitation there, that they are fooled by the lies of which the U.S. imperialist lackey dangles in their faces. Upon arrival in this country, they face the naked reality of isolation, economical exploitation, psychological castration and political disenfranchisement enforced by the gestapo FBI and its lackey international mafioso running dog Chiang Kai-shek ruling regime within our own communities.

Asians in this country understand that our oppression is no different from the systematic killing and robbing of colored peoples in the U.S. and around the world. Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors brazenly engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol Clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resume the bombing of North Vietnam and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. U.S. Imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggles. Asians, like our Third world brothers and sisters, understand that this monster is the perpetrator of the most hideous crime against us people of color such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to which we are sworn to avenge.

Following the standard of revolutionary China, we join the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. History has shown that this country has long kept in mind its ability to exterminate an entire race of people with concentration camps and methods of mass execution. Such camps exist and are ever ready for us. Pig, J. Edgar Hoover has long stated that every yellow

persons is a threat to the security of this country. Asians in fascist American harbors no doubt that the genocide perpetrated upon our brothers in Asia will soon fall upon us as well. The internment of Japanese during World War II is but a sign, a warning to the bloodbath that will occur the next time. We have stated before and we state again that we will not submit to any fascist oppression without a fight. The only way to prevent this bloodbath is the destruction of the American fascist system with all possible speed. As brother Huey P. Newton, Minister of the Black Panther Party who sees the survival of black people dependent upon the speediest destruction of this pig system, it is clear to us in I Wor Kuen that all oppressed peoples must unite and deal a death blow to this fascist system.

I Wor Kuen finds that there are many contradictions among the people with regard to the racist attitudes towards our brothers and sisters. As brother Huey states, "we recognize our brothers' liberation struggle as our own can we bring about the speediest possible destruction of the American fascist state. Because of the racist stereotypes which this system has forced upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisters tend to see Asians as non revolutionary people and find it hard to relate to revolutionary China which actively support the world wide struggle against our common enemy. The division within the Third World racist attitudes towards each other must be ended and struggled against and resolved in order to achieve true Third World unity which is essential for the revolution. It is the spirit of the internationalism from which every revolutionary must learn. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if all Third World Peoples support each other's liberation struggle in the colonies and semi colonies. No revolutionaries must put this line into practice. We must educate this concept to our peoples. This is our internationalism, the internationalism which opposes both narrow minded racism and narrow minded nationalism. People of the World unite and defeat U.S. aggressor and all its running dogs. Unity is Strength

Chairman Mao and Chairman Dobby

in solidarity.

I Wor Kuen ( Righteous Harmonious  
Fist)

24 Market St., New York city, N.Y.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
PLENARY SESSION

Workshop: Control and Use of Military and Police  
Reggie

Proposals on the Military

1. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militia, trained in guerilla warfare, on a voluntary basis and consisting of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since historically a standing army has been used for offensive actions against the people of the United States and around the world.
3. No genocidal weapons shall be manufactured or used.
4. All presently existing offensive equipment and installations shall be made inoperable and unservicable for its original purpose.
5. The people shall be educated and informed on the action of the militia, and all records shall be open to the public.
6. The government shall be prohibited from sending any personnel, funds, or equipment to any nation for military or police purposes. It should also be prohibited from spending more than 10% of the national budget for any military or police purposes. This can be overridden by a majority vote in a national referendum.
7. No person shall serve full-time in the militia; those serving in the militia shall be paid a fair wage.
8. Militia members shall be governed by the laws of the community in which they serve (or governed by the laws of the nation??)
9. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militias.
10. There shall be no conscription for any armed forces.
11. No peoples' militia shall be stationed outside national boundaries.
12. Government people and military personnel should be defined as one and the same, and not as separate entities in or of the power structure.
13. The people shall have the right to bear arms.
  - a. No citizen shall be prohibited the possession, control or purchase of small arms without the due process of the law.
  - b. Free programs shall be set-up in the training and use of small arms.

Organization, Use of, and Control of the Police

1. The police force shall be a rotating volunteer non-professional body co-ordinated by the Police Control Board from a (weekly) list of volunteers from each community section. The Police Control Board, its policies, as well as the police leadership, shall be chosen by direct popular majority vote of the community.
2. There shall not be set-up, or permitted to exist, a national body of police, or secret body of police, nor shall un-uniformed police be permitted to exist.
3. Any citizen can bring charges against any member or officer of the police force before the Control Board, and the Control Board

- shall have the power to relieve that member or officer of the police force of his or her duty.
4. Community Police Councils may set-up working relations and exchange information with police forces in other communities.
  5. The purpose of the people's police force shall be to serve and protect the community.
  6. No person can serve on both the police force and the Control Board at the same time.
  7. Any member of the Control Board can be removed by direct, popular vote of the people.
  8. Funds for community police force and for the community's Control Board shall be provided for by national government under directions of local Control Board.

## REVOLUTIONARY ART

THE WORKSHOP ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTS AND ARTIST HEREBY  
SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF  
THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

WE RECOGNIZE;

1. THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE BORN WITH A CREATIVE POTENTIAL AND THAT  
THE SOCIETY MUST GUARANTEE THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE OPPOR-  
TUNITY TO DEVELOP AND EXPRESS THAT POTENTIAL.
2. THAT ART IS A CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF A PEOPLE'S CULTURE OR  
WAY OF LIFE.
3. WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF EVERY PEOPLE'S CULTURE TO ITS FORM  
OF EXPRESSION AND THAT THOSE FORMS OF EXPRESSIONS SHOULD BE  
PRESERVED, ENCOURAGED AND DEVELOPED.
4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ART SHOULD BE RELATED TO THE INTERESTS,  
NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

RUBY'S MESSAGE TO THE  
PLENARY SESSION

Friends and comrades throughout the United States and throughout the world, we gather here in peace and friendship to claim our inalienable rights, to claim the rights bestowed upon us by an unbroken train of abuses and usurpations, and to perform the duty which is thus required of us. Our suffering has been long and patient, our prudence has stayed this final hour, but our human dignity and strength requires that we still the voice of prudence with the cry of our suffering. Thus we gather in the spirit of revolutionary love and friendship for all oppressed people of the world regardless of their race or the race and doctrine of their oppressors. We gather to proclaim to the world that for 200 years we have suffered this long train of abuses and usurpations while holding to the hope that this would pass. We recognize however, that it has now passed and we are a people who enjoy no equal protection of the law, and our future action must be guided by our suffering, and not by our prudence.

Two centuries ago when the United States was a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the conditions which prevailed in the nation, and the assumptions upon which its foundations were built, were such that they assured the United States would come to its maturity under circumstances which mean that for a substantial proportion of its citizens' life is nothing more than a prison of poverty, and the only happiness we enjoy is the laughing to keep from crying.

The United States of America was born at a time when the nation covered relatively little land, a narrow strip of political divisions on the Eastern seaboard. The United States of America was born at a time when the population was small and fairly homogeneous both racially and culturally. Thus the people called Americans were a different people in a different place. Furthermore, they had a different economic system. The small population and the fertile land available meant that with the agricultural emphasis of the economy, people were able to advance according to their motivation and ability. It was an agricultural economy and with the circumstances surrounding it, Democratic Capitalism flourished in the new nation.

The following years were to see this new nation rapidly develop into a multi-limbed giant. The new nation acquired land and spread from a narrow strip on the eastern seaboard to cover the entire continent with but few exceptions. The new nation acquired a population to fill this newly acquired land. This population was drawn from the continents of Africa, Asia, Europe and South America. Thus a nation conceived by homogeneous people of a small number and in a small area grew into a nation of a heterogeneous people, comprising a large number, and spread across an entire continent. This change in the fundamental characteristics of the nation and its people substantially changed the nature of American society. Furthermore, the social changes were marked by economic changes. A rural and agricultural economy became an urban and industrialized economy, as farming was replaced by manufacturing. The Democratic Capitalism of our early days became caught up in a relentless drive to obtain profits until the selfish motivation for profit eclipsed the unselfish principles of democracy. Thus 200 years later we have an overdeveloped economy which is so infused with the need for profit that we have replaced Democratic Capitalism with Bureaucratic Capitalism. The free opportunity of all men to pursue their economic ends has been replaced by constraints placed upon Americans by the large corporations which control and direct our economy. They have sought to increase their profits at the expense of the people, and particularly at the expense of the racial and ethnic minorities.

The history of the United States, as distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States leads us to the conclusion that our suffering is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see this when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social institutions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation had entirely opposite consequences from another portion of the people. While the majority group achieved their basic human

rights. Minorities achieved alienation from the land and their fathers and slavery. The evidence for this is clear and incontrovertible.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that the expansion of the United States government and the acquisition of lands was at the unjust expense of the American Indians the original possessors of the land and null its legitimate heirs. The long march of the Cherokee on the "Trail of Tears" and the actual disappearance of many other Indian nations testifies to the unwillingness and inability of this government and this government's constitution to incorporate racial minorities.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom they were deliberately and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom. These basic contradictions were further exacerbated by acts which implicitly admitted that the majority was wrong, but unwilling to do right. Thus when the Declaration of Independence was drafted the Founding Fathers struck all mention of the slave trade. Thus when the United States Constitution was drafted the Founding Fathers considered the slave as equivalent to 3/5 of a man. Thus when the slaves were emancipated the descendants of the Founding Fathers compromised that freedom to gain further territory. These compromises were so basic to the thinking of our forebears that legal attempts to correct the contradictions through constitutional amendments and Civil Rights laws have produced no change in our condition and we are still a people without equal protection and due process of law. We recognize then that the oppressive acts of the United States government when contrasted with the testaments of freedom, carries forward a basic contradiction found in all the legal documents upon which this government is based.

Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the administrations of a corrupt government. At the dawn of the 20th Century this hope led us to formulate a Civil Rights movement in the belief that this government would eventually fulfill its promise to Black people. We did not recognize, however, that any attempt to complete the promise of an 18th Century Revolution in the framework of a 20th Century government, economy and society was doomed to failure. The descendants of that small company of original settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a worldwide economic system. The constitution set up by their ancestors to serve the people no longer serves the people, for the people have changed. The people of the 18th Century have become the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of the 20th Century are the descendants of the slaves and dispossessed of the 18th Century. The constitution set up to serve the people of the 18th Century now serves the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of today stand wanting for a foundation of their own life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. The Civil Rights Movement has not produced this foundation, and it cannot produce this foundation because of the nature of the United States society and economy. The vision of the Civil Rights Movement is to achieve goals which have been altered by 200 years of change. Thus the Civil Rights Movement and similar movements have produced no foundation for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They have produced humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people, but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as a national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonize, oppress and exploit its minorities. This profit drive took this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment, to bureaucratic capitalism and overdeveloped industry. Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit drive by oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the lumpenproletariat is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of op-

people are opposed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness lies in its mortality preoccupied and imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by so many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form which lack any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrifices have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American government—that is the Constitution, its legal foundation. This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that constitution because the constitution is not designed for its people. For this reason we assemble a constitutional convention to consider rational and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people—a Socialist framework. Alternatives which will guarantee that within the Socialist framework all groups will be adequately represented in the decision-making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manhood rights, that they will be able to live, be free, and seek out those goals which give them respect and dignity while permitting the same privileges for every other man regardless of his condition or status.

The sacredness of man and of the human spirit requires that human dignity and integrity ought to be always respected by every other man. We will settle for nothing less, for at this point in history anything less is but a living death. WE WILL BE FREE and we are here to obtain a new constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining the dignity of the human spirit.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE:  
THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION."

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses than what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by arming the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. This first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The  
Fascists In An Attempt To Prevent The Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4 p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Hertz in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Hertz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston-Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement intercommunalism.

**All Power To The People**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
November 28, 1970

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The  
Fascists In Another People's Attempt To Embargo The Revolu-  
tionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

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ary Peoples Constitutional Convention

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On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4 p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Hertz in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Hertz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston-Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

• All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
November 28, 1970

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA, IS PLANNED TO BE THE  
MEETING PLACE FOR AN ATTEMPT TO SUBVERT THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 28, 1970

### Serving The People

We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese People heart and soul ...

Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the masses, to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.

The organs of state must practise democratic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people

Comrade Bethunes spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warmth towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.

We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests.

All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means.

Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices.

All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be heavier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploited and oppressors is lighter than a feather.

message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The vanguard group only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

San Francisco  
1000 Market Street  
San Francisco, Calif. 94107  
415/398-1107  
3049

San Francisco  
1516 Francisco, Calif. 94115  
415/922-0322  
6090

Community Center  
101 West 10th Street #311  
415/282-1521

135 Miska Road #204  
San Francisco, Calif.  
415/822-3985

1361 90th Ave.  
S. Oakland, Calif.  
415/363-0444

1560 Tenth Street  
W. Oakland, Calif.  
415/465-7029

1000 S. 10th Street  
W. Oakland, Calif.  
415/465-7029

421 Chestley Ave.  
Richmond, Calif.  
415/233-0333

25 W. 10th Street  
Berkeley, Mass.  
617/422-1100  
0261

Chicago  
1100 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill. 60612  
312/733-0773  
0779

Davenport, Iowa  
201 W. 10th Street  
Davenport, Iowa 52005  
319/333-1234

Indianapolis  
411 W. 10th Street  
Indianapolis, Ind.  
317/333-0337

Los Angeles  
1014 W. 10th Street  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
213/333-1765

San Francisco  
1000 Market Street  
San Francisco, Calif.  
415/398-1107

1516 Francisco, Calif.  
415/922-0322

Medical Clinic  
1516 Francisco, Calif.  
415/922-0322

New York  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
New York, N.Y.  
203/502-1100  
8597

New York  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
New York, N.Y.  
212/502-1100

Emergency

101 W. 10th Ave.  
New York, N.Y.  
212/502-1100  
603-245

Brooklyn Branch  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
Brooklyn, N.Y.  
212/502-1100  
603-245

Community Center  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
New York, N.Y.  
212/502-1100

Corona  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
Corona, N.Y.  
212/779-1234  
1263

Jamaica  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
Jamaica, N.Y.  
212/523-4531

Philadelphia  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
215/633-1234

Washington, D.C.  
101 W. 10th Ave.  
Washington, D.C.  
202/202-1100  
603-245

Minneapolis

19624 1970  
( ) I am coming to the Revolutionary People's Monetary Session.

( ) I will not need Housing arrangements.

( ) I will need housing arrangement.

( ) I will not need transportation

( ) I will need transportation

( )oter of members of of my will be attending. -Don.

Name

Address

City

Phone

org.

Ext-Orig.

phone (for

org)

Address

City

State

721-105

REVOLVING CHARGE ACCOUNT		STATEMENT	
CASH		ORDER NO.	CAT NO.
19624 1970		NOTICE TO BUYER	
(1) Do not sign this agreement before you read it (both sides hereof) or if it contains blank spaces. (2) You are entitled to an exact copy of this agreement at the time you sign it. We will protect your legal rights. (3) You have the right to pay in advance the full amount due. Buyer hereby acknowledges receipt of a true and correct copy of this agreement.			
1964576		CUSTOMER COPY	

one of the pieces of land  
Admiral Sir Philip...  
...the...  
...which  
...  
could be

g

887 2781

1-176-1635-091

Eugene Philyan

[REDACTED]

Emma King

[REDACTED]

Barham

Miss M<sup>e</sup> Gungley

[REDACTED]

404

[REDACTED]

Money Paid for the [illegible] [illegible]

\$ 115.00 - [illegible]  
 37.50 Paper Bill  
525.00 Paper Bill  
 \$ 277.50

Dist. on [illegible]

One book per each [illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

7. [illegible]

8. [illegible]

We have material on papers [illegible] and on  
 advice to that nation. (White Copy)

When full is found [illegible]

File [illegible] in a small box [illegible]

Keep Clear Copy of Book

Remember [illegible]

Information on Conditional [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

5 Monthly Papers

6 Record of Papers

51 Monthly Receipt - Income. Dept. takes from this  
money and money brought in from other

Sample Invoice Sheet

Date

Sold to Sutton

Sullivan  
R.H.

is  
20

Description  
Papers

Price each  
1.00 each

Total  
20.00

Total Due

30.00

Remainder Paid

Get another disk and use other room  
for finance and distribution.

Up you call again, ask Hargis if work  
right. Get money straight at National.



Jan 15 59 1957  
Greene

Invoice Book  
Receipt Book  
Distribution Book - Seven

Phone - Ann's & Headquarters

On Product Line - Diffusion in distribution & production

Collected in

- 1) Bring new paper if possible
- 2) Bring duplicating paper

# Sample - Amount of Paper

Sample	Amount	of Paper

August 30 1970 P.E. Class Club (Page

The history of the world lies in the hands of the American people.

1. Buy the ...  
2. ...

One Brother was sent to ... School ...  
in the Day Care Center. (Primary Session)

Start working on Transporters for November 4<sup>th</sup>

Before you send out ... Confirmed

Spoke in ... Appointed people that we need Transporters  
in many Bldg.

Each Chapter ... Monograph machine ...  
Tape recorder ... (5)  
Expenditure People ... Sunday.

Put names on Machines

Camera. Should be kept with you. Bring films  
People show ... each Chapter, Branch, or N.C.C. I

Information  
Security  
Liberation School Teacher  
Good Spirit

Comptroller should be kept with ...  
Leaving City

Patience Patience & Peace Convention

Paper plates  
Napkins  
Forks  
Paper towels  
Santitas Napkins  
Jailed tissues

In Philadelphia  
at 10:00 later than Thursday  
Morning

GE 87635 - Germantown  
BA 20885 - Phil Philly  
PO 37437 - New Kensington

Philly Phone Number

Rough estimate of how many people we have Thursday  
Registration forms & cards - Bring Thursday morning  
alphabetical order  
about 2000 names  
check & double compilation

No. of Information Centers	
✓ Dr. Bolton	1 ✓
✓ Boston	1 ✓
✓ Wapen Hill	1 ✓
✓ Mrs. Mack	1 ✓
✓ WQ	1 ✓
✓ 11/12	1 ✓

Use a telephone by any means necessary  
(white folks) I suppose

Good in by Thursday

Seize the Time Schedule - Sept 9 1970

	hour	10	Sept 15
Boston	1	10	9
Happy Hill	1	10	9
Jurace	0	2	2
10th 1/2	1	2	1
Lakeside	0	2	2
Mr Mack	1	2	1
East Winstony (Bottom)	1/1	1/1	9 (Bottom)
	29	29	

$$\begin{array}{r} 510 \\ 4 \overline{) 2040} \\ \underline{20} \\ 4 \\ \underline{4} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 255.00 \\ 2 \overline{) 510.00} \\ \underline{510} \\ 0 \\ \underline{0} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 510 \\ 4 \overline{) 2040} \\ \underline{20} \\ 4 \\ \underline{4} \\ 0 \\ \underline{0} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 255 \\ 11 \overline{) 2805} \\ \underline{22} \\ 60 \\ \underline{55} \\ 50 \\ \underline{44} \\ 60 \\ \underline{55} \\ 5 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 44 \quad 10 \\ 255 \times 10 \\ \underline{201.40} \\ 47.60 \end{array}$$

~~11/11/11~~

We got the paper money already

That's Right

15  
4

Sept 1, 1970

Money Out Reason  
\$1.00 Phone Calls

Jack

1. Henry not setting a example. Stealing too much.

Monday - J.C. Charles' wanting to know the "house" after 12:00.

Daniel

Not obeying orders. No respect for leadership. No conscious discipline. Nigger running, organizing crazy.

Lee - Conduct while at Fortson, (circumventing the process)

Too much play. Looks like a <sup>social</sup> ~~toilet~~ instead of a National Committee.

Sam. acting crazy. Was criticized and made the same mistake again. Seemed to be high. Took a negative attitude.

Henry

Daniel's approach is record up. Runs too much rhetoric before he gets to the point.

Sam. Seems back to forth. He chaotic action of the committee to a brother from the community.

1. What part did you play in what went down at the Community House?
2. Did you know what was going to happen?
3. When

After they ran down what was happening. Did you get in the van with them to go down the hill?

Any reasons for getting in van?

Did you ask them to take you home?

Did you ask why Mrs. Mack was put into van? Were you try to file

Where were you when the niggers got out of the truck?

From what you saw, just what happened?

Who brought mattress out to van?

Who was Culley talking to?

Did they just go on the porch? Had around the house?

Was the door open when Larry & Kenny came?

~~What happened~~ Butte

Was any door was open, was it ever closed again?

Was the house surrounded?

Did you observe <sup>any</sup> people taking position of cover?

Was Bert Shon on porch? Did he go in house  
Calley, Bowman?

If nobody went in house, who brought furniture down?

It was said the Shon Bowman Calley were in house. Can you verify that? Did Shon point  
shotgun at them?

Is it possible that they put a gun & you didn't see it?

You couldn't hear conversation at all?

How far was you from porch?

After shit went down, had Mrs Mack  
started to walk home?

Did Mrs Mack down to house?

Was Robert Cain in truck?

Were you sent out to count people here

Were you hip to what was coming down then

After shit went down, did you get back in truck?

After shit had happened, why didn't you  
come & make your position clear later?

What kind of stand do you take now?



1970  
10/10/70  
10/10/70



Find out all available means of raising money

Banquets  
Parties  
Dances etc. Contact Bands  
for convention and collective.

J. J. McMillan  
Hayel Scott  
Palma Hopkins  
Betty Bourgeois Higgins  
Hugh Point - Nora Bray  
Ciprian  
Chapel Hill  
Huckle Point - Finance for Convention  
Shack done in detail

Bands  
Versatiles  
Superior  
Blenders  
Dunagan  
Sims  
Indeterminatio } State  
Secretio } Empire

Information a page organizing local work.

Phyllis Majer  
Student Member  
Henry

7537760

834740

Sunday, Sept. 20, 1970 12 p.m.

Lee Woodbury

1. When haven't been a change in opinion in the  
been here. No regard for leadership. Wasting too  
much time. People that don't straighten up -  
go home.
2. Kenny hasn't been setting any examples  
acting crazy. Sister knows better.
3. Gang - individualistic tendencies. Wants to make  
Charles - Messing up an assembly. No regard  
for their lives or their comrades' lives. Both.
4. Sisters in general have attitudes towards  
people from the community. Acting arrogant.
5. No discipline (conscience) among those as a  
whole. Shape up or ship out.

Gang - individualistic tendencies. Use the knowledge  
has to get what he wants. Has a way  
with words - Felix & I agree.



GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND  
POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

III

to the masses in court during recess I  
walked up the bootlicking stairs while  
he was rubbing <sup>buttocks</sup> ~~his~~ with some white  
whimpy small pigs and asked him "how  
much was he paid a word for  
informing the pigs on his brother or  
that brother?" The light tipped lackey  
replied "I don't know what you're talking  
about. At the same day time pigs dressed  
up as photographers tried to take out  
pictures, and we also exposed <sup>the photographs</sup> ~~them~~ as a  
pigs and told them to <sup>withdraw from our midst</sup> ~~get the hell out of~~  
not take our pictures anymore. The  
pigs were lined up in two's searching  
wicked pocketbooks. They know all the time  
that the people in High Point aren't afraid  
to commit revolutionary suicide, because

They found the group IV interested in bringing the struggle to a higher level in High Point.

The pigs have even moved to tell  
lies that a Black Panther Party is on  
Jern Street. They are patrolling the Carson  
Hall's Housing Projects 24 hours a day.  
The low minded beast are even asking  
little children are there any Panthers  
in High Point. The fools are going mad  
stopping people that are driving about their  
business asking for information. Pigs are  
patrolling the schools working hand in  
hand with ~~the~~ the Hall point man  
Ahauffer (Principal of High Point Central  
High School). The beast is intimidating  
students because they ~~can't~~ <sup>don't</sup> tell him  
anything more than he is suppose to know.  
The pigs in High Point are getting up tight  
mainly because of underground newspaper.



IV

is being circulated in High Point. They are  
passing backlogs by the dozen to find out  
who writes the <sup>paper</sup> ~~people~~ because the paper  
is constructed and written in a revolutionary  
manner. The rhetoric in the paper is  
really right on. The pigs think the Black  
Panthers are writing the paper, and they are  
harassing brothers telling them if trouble  
breaks out in High Point how many years  
they will get ~~extemporaneously~~. He don't know  
you write the paper, but a series have been  
received by the masses already. The last issue  
told of the 16 backlogs of the week. This really  
got the bootlickers uplight. Some of them were  
supposed to be friends of the people ~~the~~  
because they give some niggers the impression  
"that" we shall to arrest you, but this is our  
job, and be a nice nigger and maybe I

and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> (bookkeepers) are also trying to fool the people into becoming bankers. (Which a few brother and sisters were busted for illegal sale of whiskey. The low natured, cheat tell the people that they will reduce charges on ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup> if they inform them who sells whiskey. The people who I've talked to understand that a pig is a pig, and wish to be identified as the violation not the problem. The pigs in High Point are trying to pacify the people in <sup>all</sup> ~~the~~ types of fashions. They brag about High Point and what a lovely furniture city it is. High Point really hasn't had any racial trouble since I've been living there. (Last 9 yrs.) The pigs think High Point can't be <sup>so</sup> ~~so~~ ~~good~~. They're wrong just because it's in the menstrual cycle; it don't mean that High Point be exempt from the block and the people in the community want to rise up and off

all the people because of the cause,  
aim is to unify our fathers and mothers  
in the earth with the world.

Revolution in my lifetime

NE NE

High Point, N.C.



Would you please have this published in your school newspaper.

It has been proven through the social practice of the administrative apparatus of this present government, ever since it's inception one-hundred ninety-four years ago that it has been non-functional for Black people in particular and poor oppressed people in general. All minority ethnic groups, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Red and yellow people, all poor oppressed people in general in this country find themselves excluded from all decision making processes. There is no doubt that justice and peace belong to those able to afford it, those people within a particular class, the ruling class.

For too long in the past we have haphazardly seen by and watched others, that didn't have our interest at heart, determine our destiny. We have allowed them to send us to wars we know nothing about as to the reason why or for what. We have let this non-representative government so far as poor people are concerned, to deny us our human right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Repressive measures against the people that violate their most basic rights of privacy are being infringed upon by constitutional amendments such as the "No Knock Bill", Preventive Detention" and excessive bail (ransom) are other repressive measures that people are subjected to in the realms of the present Constitution.

When ever people attempt to use so-called legal channels of redress, their pleas sounding of agony and pain fall on deaf ears. At this time we are calling for a new constitution. A constitution written by the masses of people throughout this racist country that is representative of them and that will give all power to the people.

November 26 in Washington, D.C. there will be held a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. This occasion will mark the coming together of all progressive people and organizations that desire a more representative government and see the need for a new constitution. YOUR presence at the Constitutional Convention is greatly needed to assist us in building for a better society.

Resources are also needed. Donations of money mimeograph paper or office supplies to get information out to the people. If you can assist us in getting transportation, that would also be a great help.

Send Contributions To: National Committee to Combat Fascism  
1602 E. 14th Street  
Winston-Salem, N.C. 27105  
or call  
7257026

Towards a New Constitution

Nelson Malloy

As far as I am concerned  
I have had a desire to accomplish  
a great deal more in my life  
than my political beliefs.  
The oldest child I am expected  
to do and I am going to do  
better than ever before for  
guidance. I am now  
I hope I have become involved  
in community, church and  
civil activities. In the

In the past year I have  
become more active in the  
community than ever before..  
I am a member of a permanent  
terrace group <sup>(N.Y.C.)</sup> ~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup>  
on issues that ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> the  
community. This group publishes  
a paper and I am Editor in Chief.  
I am a member of the "Friends  
of the Court" which is with  
equal that about 1000 people in  
Cecil. I am a member of the  
Atlanta League.



GEORGE H. ESTER, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND  
POST OFFICE BOX 667 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 482-5785

ESK program

Re: 2. We want full employment for all people  
as you were ESK in another program to help  
Black people. When ESK design the program  
they tell you they will only furnish  
the job until but mother after then you  
have to find your own job. This program  
is not design to help black people because  
the pay rates are low you don't get  
vacations and holiday. you aren't given  
no over time to you can't see  
the go government is not for the better  
of this country + to design job which  
will support you <sup>and</sup> your child +  
just design to keep you satisfied and  
to keep you from really getting angry  
to help black hungry poor children  
After they have given you  
6 or 7 months training then you go  
to look for the same type of  
work you were to design to do  
then the education is not set  
and still these people are poor



GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND  
POST OFFICE BOX 687 DUNHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 632-5785

all Negroes to give you without  
education as it was when the  
Negro government of last year on  
the Negro incident to maintain maintain  
peace for their own satisfaction  
everything the government put out  
to to trick black people into  
think the program are for their own  
benefit. In the past the Negro  
government has been a failure  
and the ESK program is a failure  
and the Negro government is a failure.

1. Panthers should never become arrogant, but remain humble and servants of the people.
2. Members of the Vanguard Party tend to become big headed when a victory is won and are no longer willing to make progress, but lap all the praises that the people, and the throw at them. This is a dangerous practice because when the enemies are able to conquer us with sugar-coated bullets, we must always guard ourselves against such matters.
3. Occasionally mistakes will be made, but we mustn't let them get us down because we learn from our mistakes. On the other hand if we have not made any mistakes let us not set ourselves up on pedestals as being perfect for no one is. We should not look down upon our brothers and sisters who do error, because we are all in the process of learning the correct revolutionary procedures. Whether we be young or old, educated, or illiterate we must learn to forget our petty grievances and unite together to achieve our goals.
4. Party members in leadership positions and therefore criticize other party member and never seem to be able to see their own shortcomings. This is a bad practice that must be eradicated for the betterment of the party.
5. The work that is facing us is a challenge that must be met and defeated by all party members. We all should take our work in stride and not hand the difficult work out to someone else and take the light work. The brothers and sisters who do take the hard work and do not complain about their work are true revolutionaries in the full sense and their example should be followed by everyone.
6. Some revolutionaries tend to put their load on the shoulders of their brothers and sisters, preferring not to carry their work because their heart is not to carry their work because of their half stepping tendencies.
7. Panthers who look out for their own good and have no regard for the party itself, cannot be called panthers because of their countervoluntary tendencies they are only after the public's eye, by bragging and soliciting for power. As members of the Vanguard Party we should be honest in all endeavors and activities.
8. When considering the situation as a whole, Panthers should always carry out their actions for the betterment of all, including party members and the masses themselves.
9. As members of the Black Liberation Army we are not here to half-step. There are times and places for everything but while doing Functional Party work that is where our heart and soul should be, on our revolutionary functions, and not on pleasure seeking ventures.
10. We must always remember that we are all brothers and sisters in the revolution, therefore we should not let little clicks develop within our ranks but must be as one big family because you must clean your own house before you go abroad.
11. There are various aspect of Liberalism we must guard against. Having liberal principles within our framework is bad because it can cause the downfalls of the party.
12. If these liberal principles are not dismissed from among our midst they can eat away at the basic ideology and philosophy of the Vanguard Party thus creating disunity not only in the party itself, but also between the party and the masses.
13. People who practice liberal principles look upon our revolutionary ideals as historical idealism, they support our ideals in words, but practice their liberal tendencies. They tell you its good to try to obtain power to determine your own destiny but want nothing to do with the obtaining of it. We as members of the Black Liberation Army accept no compromises with these people, because as liberals they only want revisions within the power-structure and not a complete change.
14. We of the Vanguard Party dedicated our lives to the defense and liberation of Black people. Only when we have informed ourselves politically can we relate to and reeducate the masses. We must know what we are here for and why, because various reactionary actions will be trying to undermine us and the masses we must be able to deal with this in a revolutionary manner.
15. The most vicious struggle any party member will ever encounter is the struggle between his personal interest and the interest of the masses. But as party member we must always act in the interest of the masses.

1/2nd } 2-3  
Hazel

Nelson } 3-4  
Hazel

Joe Bell } 4-5  
Lena

E. J. } 5-6  
Fair

Loose } 6-7  
Rock

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or name, located in the upper right quadrant of the page. The text is faint and difficult to decipher.

1954 1955

1954 1955 <sup>1950-1955</sup> Mary Ann and LeRoy

002 Day Home } This house 1925 Double  
1516 Channel

Belaine Valley "11 1/2" "One" 1930 One

1930 1935  
1511 1935

1935 1935  
1935 1935

30

1970

1970  
1971  
1972

1973  
1974

## Pushers and Pops Work Hard on Street

The pop and the pushers use many tactics to  
aid buyers of young revolutionaries. By allowing  
the pop to buy of addictive drugs, it operates  
openly the pop seem to think that their job of  
destroying the revolution will be a little  
easier. Pushers are pop living off the people.  
We want an end to all forms of capitalistic  
exploitation.

Many of the blacks who are addicted have  
become this way because they can't cope deal  
with the oppression of the pop with level  
heads. So get high to try to escape all of  
this. Many of them have come with the  
american forces in Vietnam where they were  
push into using drugs after witnessing the many  
acts of fascism, genocide, and acts of aggression  
by the U.S. forces. To these blacks I say you  
can't escape oppression without dealing with the  
oppressor.

The pop use many tactics to make the people  
think that they are concerned about the drug  
problem. They are the drug problem. They have  
flooded the communities with "niggers" who only  
are concerned with busting the young offenders  
and petty pushers. The big men never have to  
worry about getting busted. In Winston-Salem  
some pushers have been released repeatedly and over  
to have good security. It's all pop against  
the little man.

the youth will yoke and sustain the revolution. So all else they have concentrated their efforts to ripping the youth off the streets by putting them into prisons and jails or strapped up charges or leaving the youth on the street with dope-doped minds. The pigs have even trained boot-legs to work the high schools. These junior pigs (pigs in training) try to push drugs on the brothers and set them up for a bust. On the corner pushers give children candy with heroin.

In Fayetteville, N.C. the pigs have really intensified their struggle to rot Babylon of potential revolutionaries. They have went so far as to take a portion of the town and turn it into an area where drugs can be passed openly with interference what so ever. This area is called Freedom Park. Each day the pigs seem to draw more people into the world of drug slavery, making them a part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

The time has come for the people to draw a line of demarcation between the pushers and themselves. Either the pushers stop their genocidal practices and leave the western enslavement of our young people's minds or face the wrath of an armed people.

All Power To The People.  
Revolution on Our Lifetime

NCCF Winston-Salem  
Fox

# POLITICAL PRISONERS OF THE U.S. GOV'T.

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND N.C.C.F.

HIMMY JEROME NEWTON --- California North County, Los Angeles,  
San Luis Obispo, Calif.

BOBBY SEALE --- Mendocino State Correction Center, Mendocino,  
Calif.

LOUIS RANDELL WILLIAMS --- 1225 Fulton St., Oakland, Calif.

CHARLES BURSEY --- R22801 P.O. Box 22801 San Francisco, Calif.  
94130

CLEVELAND BROOKS --- P.O. Box B23220 Tamaul, Calif.  
(San Quentin)

LANCE BELL --- No. D3 6915413 Cook County Jail, 2600  
South Calif. St. Chicago, Ill.

RANDALL ROLINS --- Tier E-3 6915497 Cook County Jail,  
2600 South Calif. St. Chicago, Ill.

ROBERT WHITE --- No. 123522 4000 Corry St. Jackson, Mich.

MORY HITTLE --- Denver County Jail Box 1103 Denver, Colorado

LANNON WILLIAMS --- Denver County Jail Box 1106 Denver, Colorado

VICTOR PEREZ --- Hudson County Jail Poveria Ave., Jersey City

CHARLES HIGGS --- Hudson County Jail, Poveria Ave., Jersey City

RONALD FREEMAN --- Book No. 321-930 P.O. Box 54320  
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

ROGER LEWIS --- Book No. 175-639 P.O. Box 54320  
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

BRUCE RICHARDS --- Book No. 256-352 P.O. Box 54320  
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

ROBERT WILLIAMS --- Book No. 327-385 P.O. Box 54320  
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

GEORGE YOUNG --- Book No. 271-525 P.O. Box 54320  
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

LEMMUEL JAMES --- Book No. 455-529 P.O. Box 54320  
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

LUNNEY IRWIN --- Calif. Eastlake for Men P.O. Box 170 Colton,  
Calif. 91710

LEONNE L. LUCAS --- Litchfield State Jail, Litchfield, Conn.

GEORGE EDWARDS --- Bridgeport State Jail, Bridgeport, Conn.

BRICKA HUGHES ----- Miami State Farm for Women, Miami, Conn.  
 ROSE SMITH ----- Miami State Farm for Women, Miami, Conn.  
 FRANCIS CARTER ----- Miami State Farm for Women, Miami, Conn.  
 PEGGY HUGHES ----- Miami State Farm for Women, Miami, Conn.  
 ALBANY HUGHES ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 LIP HAN YU SHAKUR ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 LES ROSEN ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 WILLIAM HONG ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 ALEX HONG ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 WALTER JOHNSON ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 NORMAN TAYLOR ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 CLARK SQUARE ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 ROBERT COLLIER ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 DR. CLARK POWELL ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.  
 JOAN BIRD ----- 10 Greenwich Ave. 6th Floor, N.Y. City, N.Y.  
 ROMANUS FITZGERALD ----- Box 27527 San Quentin Prison, Tarry, Calif.  
 (Each roll)  
 CARLTON RAY EDWARDS - Y.A. Boys Camp 150th Ave., San Leandro, California  
 WILHELM BAZLER ----- Island Island, Federal Penitentiary, Seattle, Wash.  
 EDDY KATES ----- Walla Walla State Prison, Walla Walla, Wash.  
 LOUIS JACKSON ----- Los Angeles Federal Correction Institution, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 ARTHUR LARUE ----- 530 North Flower Street, Santa Ana, Calif.  
 LARRY WALLACE ----- 401 East Bay Street, Baltimore, Maryland  
 EDWARD YOUNG ----- 401 East Bay Street, Baltimore, Maryland  
 MARSHALL CONWAY ----- 401 East Bay Street, Baltimore, Maryland  
 JESSIE WHITE ----- 8355 South 66th St., Franklin, Wisconsin  
 BOOKER COLLINS ----- 8355 South 66th St., Franklin, Wisconsin  
 EARL LAVANTTE ----- 8355 South 66th St., Franklin, Wisconsin  
 JOHN WALLS ----- 8355 South 66th St., Franklin, Wisconsin

FORM 8-10

### CASH RECEIPT

Received of W. H. Hines

Gal. Gas	Prem. <input type="checkbox"/>	Reg. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	\$ 2.00
Qts. Oil	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		\$
			\$

**STATION STAMP**

*[Faint station stamp text]*

Date 11-10-20

*[Signature]*

**Thank You!**

**DIRECT OIL CORPORATION**

### Talent Show

Featuring

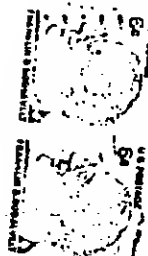
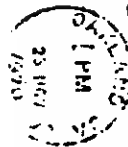
### Mustang Sally Revue

Talent Show,      Athletic Aud.

Adm. Adults, \$1.00; Students, .75 Dr. \$1.25

1049 Peralta Street  
Oakland, California  
94607

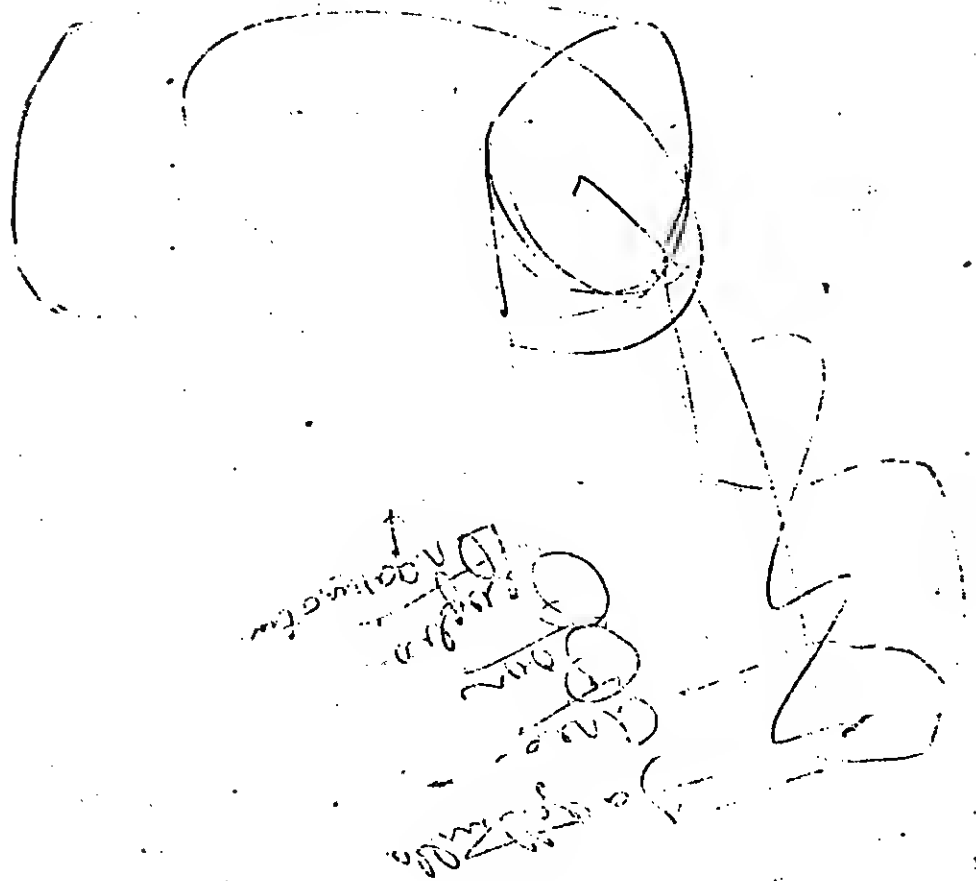
Winston N.C.C.F.  
1602 E. 14th Street  
Winston Salem, N.C.



AIRPORT MAIL FACILITY



Q. I believe you are in possession of the book "The Last Thursday, 1912" / Every other night at the cemetery house.





Baby 1.00 5.30  
 Denton 1.00 41 2.20  
 Lane 1.00 35 1.75  
 Sam 1.00 50 10 13.92  
 Hazel 1.00  
 Port 1.00 61 9.20 9.15  
 Robert 1.00 8.75  
 Port 1.00  
 Leo } 6.00  
 Fip }  
 El }  
 Baby } 5.00  
 Port }  
 Baby }  
 Port }  
 Baby }

Ed from out of town 2.00  
 Bumpa Lukas 2.56  
 Jennifer

2.00 2.00 6.00 5.00 5.00

**North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles  
Registration Division  
Raleigh**

FEBRUARY 7, 1967

**OFFICIAL NOTICE AND FILING OF SUSPENSION OF DRIVER'S  
LICENSE AND REVOCATION OF VEHICLE REGISTRATION**

[REDACTED]  
N. SALEH, N.C.

LICENSE NUMBER [REDACTED]  
PLATE [REDACTED]

EFFECTIVE FEB. 13, 1967 YOUR NORTH CAROLINA MOTOR VEHICLE DRIVING PRIVILEGE IS SUSPENDED AND THE REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE AND PLATE ARE KEPT FOR THIRTY DAYS BECAUSE YOU HAVE FAILED TO FILE PROOF OF YOUR LIABILITY INSURANCE AS REQUESTED BY THE DEPARTMENT—G. S. 20-307.

DO NOT DRIVE AFTER THIS ORDER BECOMES EFFECTIVE OR YOU WILL LOSE YOUR LICENSE FOR AN ADDITIONAL PERIOD OF ONE YEAR.

YOU ARE DIRECTED TO MAIL THE ITEMS INDICATED ABOVE TO THE DEPARTMENT ON THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS ORDER IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO. SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPES ARE ENCLOSED. THE WHITE ENVELOPE IS FOR YOUR OPERATOR'S AND OPERATOR'S LICENSE. THE BROWN ENVELOPE IS FOR YOUR LICENSE PLATE AND REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE. FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THIS ORDER IS A VIOLATION OF G. S. 20-30-0 AND G. S. 20-312.

THIRTY DAYS AFTER THE PLATE IS RECEIVED BY THE DEPARTMENT YOU WILL BE SENT AN APPLICATION CARD WITH WHICH ANOTHER PLATE MAY BE SECURED. THIRTY DAYS FROM THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS ORDER YOUR DRIVER'S LICENSE WILL BE AUTOMATICALLY RETURNED IF A FURTHER SUSPENSION IS NOT INVOLVED.

THIS ORDER CANNOT BE RESCINDED UNLESS YOU HAD LIABILITY INSURANCE ON THE DATE AND FOR THE VEHICLE DESCRIBED IN A PRIOR NOTICE. IF INSURANCE WAS THEN IN EFFECT, YOU MAY RETURN THIS ORDER WITH PROOF OF THE COVERAGE AND IT WILL BE RESCINDED. THE PROOF REQUIRED IS A CERTIFICATE OF INSURANCE, FS-1, ISSUED BY YOUR INSURANCE COMPANY OR AGENT.

PLEASE DIRECT ANY INQUIRIES REGARDING THE REVOCATION AND SUSPENSION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES, REGISTRATION DIVISION, FINANCIAL SECURITY SECTION.

*A. P. Gorman, Jr.*  
A. P. GORMAN, JR.  
COMMISSIONER

1. ONLY ORDERS IN ALL YOUR ACTIONS
2. DO NOT TAKE A SINGLE NEEDLE OR PIECE OF THREAD FROM THE POCKETS OF THE MASSES.
3. TURN IN EVERYTHING CAPTURED from the attacking enemy.

THE EIGHT POINTS OF ATTENTION ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. SPEAK POLITELY.
2. PAY FAIRLY FOR WHAT YOU BUY.
3. RETURN EVERYTHING YOU BORROW.
4. PAY FOR ANYTHING YOU DAMAGE.
5. DO NOT HIT OR SMILE AT PEOPLE.
6. DO NOT DAMAGE CROPS, *property of the poor oppressed masses.*
7. DO NOT TAKE LIBERTIES WITH WOMEN.
8. *DO NOT ILL-TREAT CAPTIVES.*  
*If we ever have to take captives, do not ill-treat them.*

#### CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

The Panther Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, no hesitating to criticize us Panthers and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor"--this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worn-eaten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not"--this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight.

Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient." Which is the only correct and effective method.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organization mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organization mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should stress the political side.

Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attacks. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

As Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese People and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?

Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives for the interests of the people and their hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them---can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

#### LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and feel only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Panther. This is a seventh type.

See someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction: to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself. This is an eleventh type.

#### THE EIGHT POINTS OF A FIGHTER

1. SPEAK TRUTH
2. PAY FAIRLY FOR WHAT YOU BUY
3. RETURN EVERYTHING YOU BORROW
4. PAY FOR ANYTHING YOU TAKE
5. DO NOT HIDE A THING AT ANYONE'S HOME
6. DO NOT HANG OR CRUEL TO ANY PERSON
7. DO NOT TAKE LIBERTIES WITH ANYONE
8. DO NOT ILL-TREAT CAPTIVES

#### CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

The Working Class does not fear criticism because we are right. The truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, no hesitating to criticize us Panthers and giving us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor"--this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worn-out" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not"--this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our party.

Opposition and struggle between forces of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions outside. On the one hand, between the new and the old in society, there were no contradictions in the Party and no Party. All struggles to resolve them, the Party's life must come to an end.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for unifying energy within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight.

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Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient." Which is the only correct and effective method.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organization mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organization mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should stress the political side.

Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attacks. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

As Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese People and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?

On my church I am president  
of Jr. Church and I have participated  
in many presented to the public.  
The activities at school that  
I have ~~participated~~ in are "Y" Secret, ~~Marion~~  
~~the~~ ~~Junior~~ ~~Engineer~~ and Technical  
Society. The subjects that interest  
me are History and Mathematics.  
I have not fully decided  
what profession I want to  
enter but whatever field  
it be I will be working  
with people.

L'let. R. 143

## No. 211,613

[illegible]

To Mr. H. H. H.  
Mr., H. H. or H. H.

1622 11 17 1952

UNION IS NOT A DIVISION.

We have received a telegraphic money order for you with the following message;

To receive the money, please call at our office at

as soon as possible and in no case later than 72 hours, since at the end of that time we are required to cancel the order and return the amount to the sender.

Please bring this notice with you and furnish evidence of your identity in accordance with the paragraph that has been checked below.

- Some of the following, or any other documentary evidence of your identity which you may have.
- |   |                          |                            |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Membership cards | Letters addressed to you | Automobile license         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Receipted bills  | Bank book                | Western Union collect card |

- ☐ The sender of the money has instructed us to require positive personal identification. Please, therefore, bring with you some reputable person known to us who can identify you. In making this, bring such evidence as will serve to establish your identity beyond question.

WJ 75 (89-66)

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. ST.

Q  
Q  
20843  
2  
208 - 500 1/5  
208 - 500 1/5

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
WEEKLY PROGRESS REPORT

Number of People Contacted I contacted 8 people.  
3 people gave 5 people said come  
back and see them later

Names of People Working Mrs. Quinn  
(Addresses and Telephone # 1319 E. 5 St.  
Center, Type of Work) Minister - Salem N.C.  
8th Highland

D. the Minister Local Marshal  
Chapel Hill, N.C. 4th Street  
Minister - Salem N.C. Minister - Salem N.C.

Jacob - W. Local M.C. Area  
24 Jackson 1936 Gilman Ave  
Minister - Salem N.C.

Tina Totto Toddler  
Chapel Hill, N.C. 24 Jackson  
Minister - Salem N.C. Minister - Salem N.C.

Weekly Report (continued)

Personal Evaluation is that some of the things  
care labels reached further & were  
more visible & legible. So we're happy  
Hospital and said come back later  
on and didn't even give any actions  
that they would. Help at all.  
Considering they think the children  
wouldn't be there & things would  
be damaged.

(Use other side if more space is needed)

Summary and Comments I think we did. They were  
this week. We received the items  
1 case of pork and beans 1 case of corn  
meal 1 case of cream corn, 3 bags of corn  
meal, 15" Kool-Aid, 3 1/2 bags of sugar  
15" box of pudding. We also received 20 bags  
of paper, paper, shell, crayon, Magic Marker,  
2 boxes of paper, 1 bag of paper, 1 bag of paper,  
stapler, pencils, toothbrushes, 1 box of  
toothpaste, 1 box of paper, 1 box of paper,  
paper, pencil, 1 bag of paper, 1 box of paper,  
balls, pencils, paper, 1 bag of paper,

all given to the people  
Marianne Long

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP the BPP was started during December 1966 in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is...by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

19 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-366 enclosure

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM-BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly confidential source  
advised as follows on December 3, 1970.

[REDACTED] of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
NCCF Chapter was in contact with the BPP National Distribution  
Office in San Francisco, regarding his shipment of this  
week's BPP newspapers. (Data regarding this shipment has  
been furnished by separate communication.)

[REDACTED] then spoke with BPP [REDACTED]  
and discussed present activities in Winston-Salem.

[REDACTED] advised him that they were getting the  
students organized and are trying to organize a school  
boycott and set up their own school system. He said that  
the NAACP and "those other boot lickers" have tried to get  
into the meetings but the students have driven them out. He  
went on to say that they are giving some classes in political  
education and want to get some "technical equipment" classes  
for the students set up.

They also discussed newspaper circulation and  
money problems and [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that he ought to be  
able to raise \$1,000 from student donations and send some  
money to National Distribution to pay back paper bills owed  
by Winston-Salem. [REDACTED] agreed that this was possible.

EX 105

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (157-1630) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (157-2861)
  - (1 - 157-2237) (Atlanta)
  - (1 - 157-1531) (Publications)

JAC/krh  
(10)

56 DEC 31 1970

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
FBI  
DEC 11 1970

Per \_\_\_\_\_

██████████ wanted to know when ██████████ was going to Atlanta, Georgia, and ██████████ indicated that he wanted to go there in the next day or two. ██████████ told him that he should have been down there by Sunday to find out if they (in Atlanta) should be getting papers or not in order that National Distribution could start sending them to Atlanta next week. ██████████ agreed that he should have done so.

The above information is furnished for the assistance of Charlotte in coverage of BPP activities in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Charlotte should, through appropriate sources, attempt to determine all of the activities of the NCCF Chapter there. It is noted that the term "technical equipment" has been utilized in the past to refer to weapons and the classes discussed by ██████████ may pertain to weapons nomenclature and practice classes of the students he is attempting to organize.

Charlotte should conduct specific investigation in this regard to determine if weapons technology is, in fact, being taught to students by the NCCF in Winston-Salem.

Charlotte should also furnish Atlanta any specific information regarding ██████████ proposed trip to Atlanta as noted herein.

It will be recalled by Atlanta and Charlotte that prior to the initiation of the NCCF being organized by SAM GILLIAM in Atlanta, he was to be inspected in his operations by LARRY LITTLE from Winston-Salem.

San Francisco will furnish any additional information developed from BPP sources regarding operations in these areas.

2-27  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
*Memorandum*

DIRECTOR, FBI

105-165706-8

DATE: DEC 15 1970

*[Signature]*  
SAN FRANCISCO

157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

[REDACTED] DEC 4 1970

#2 4:27pm lri ic

REC-64

105-165706-8364

[REDACTED] TO [REDACTED] advised that he was calling from Winston-Salem, North Carolina and that he wanted to talk to JUNE HILLIARD. [REDACTED] advised that he could be reached at home.

6 DEC 18 1970

2 - BUREAU RM  
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM  
1 - SF

66 DEC 24 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 12/4/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7711) (P) *REC-7A 1, 3, 6*

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Charlotte teletype to Bureau, 11/27/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of LHM regarding captioned matter, copies of which are being disseminated locally to Military Intelligence Agencies and Secret Service. Information copies of this LHM are being furnished Atlanta, Columbia, New York, San Francisco, Savannah, and WFO due to their interest.

CSURE

- 105-165706-8-363*
- Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
  - Atlanta (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - Columbia (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - New York (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - Savannah (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - Charlotte

(4 - 157-7711)

(1 - 157-6171) (BPP)

THG:stp

(19)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

AGENCY: ICUSO, NAC, OSI, SEC. SERV., IRS,  
DEPT. ISD, QAO, IDIU, CD

HOW FORW:  
DATE FORW:  
BY:

The first source is [REDACTED]

The second source is [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] at Durham, N. C., by SA [REDACTED] and at  
Lumberton, N. C., by SA [REDACTED]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT WINSTON-SALEM, DURHAM, AND LUMBERTON, N. C.

Will maintain contact with appropriate informants for  
additional information concerning captioned convention.



REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

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On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF, had made inquiries of a number of bus lines concerning the leasing of a bus for a trip to Washington, D. C. LITTLE was offered a bus [REDACTED] however, he failed to recontact the bus line to obtain a bus and his method of transportation to Washington, D. C., is not known to [REDACTED]

A source, who has knowledge of activities at Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, reported that on November 25, 1970, approximately twenty individuals, all white members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), New University Conference, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) or other such group, plan to travel to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPPC) with this travel to be made by personally owned automobiles. Exact details were not known to the source.

[REDACTED] reported the following information:

On November 27, 1970, the Southern Section of the RPPC registered at the All Saints Unitarian Church located at Sixteenth Street and Harvard Avenue, Washington, D. C. There were approximately seventy-five to one hundred persons there at about 9:00 AM, sixty percent of which were white.

Two security guards were observed at each entrance to the church. No one with a camera was permitted to enter and one person who endeavored to do so was bodily thrown out. No fee was charged for registration, but donations for the BPP were received and most people gave \$5 or more.

Upon registration, the normal registration packet was not provided, instead each person was given a slip of paper reflecting the registration, but containing no instructions. Those people who registered were told to wait and most did so throughout the morning without receiving any instructions whatsoever.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

---

Among those observed outside the church were the following:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Cars, operated in the area by the white persons seeking to attend the convention, bore license numbers including South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

There were persons in the area selling books such as Education and Revolution by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, The Ideology of the BPP, Capitalism Dope Equals Genocide, and We The People. Also being sold in the area were newspapers including Rise Up in anger of the Women's Liberation, The Quick Silver Times, The Militant, and the BPP paper.

On November 27, 1970, after lunch, the group continued to hang around the Unitarian Church until about 4:45 PM. No significant instructions were received. Many of those present were furious at the lack of organization. However, it was announced that there would be a mass meeting in the Malcolm X Park at Seventeenth Street and Euclid Street that night.

There a person, referred to as "BIG MAN," spoke. He told how Howard University should have let the BPP hold the RPCC on campus free. His talk and the activities in the park concluded by about 9:00 PM.

"BIG MAN" appeared to be a Negro male, twenty-five to twenty-seven years of age, six feet three inches tall, weighing 200 pounds, with an Afro hairdo and a Vandyke beard with a very black complexion.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

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On Saturday, November 28, 1970, approximately one thousand persons were gathered at the Unitarian Church. Most of those present, a large number of whom were white, broke into small discussion groups on an informal basis as there was again no formal program or workshop.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

Sometime during the morning, approximately five members from the BPP, including a person identified as MICHAEL TARBOR, from New York, New York, appeared briefly and announced that the constitution would be read at Saint Stevens Episcopal Church that night.

At approximately 7:15 PM on November 28, 1970, Saint Stevens Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., was filled to capacity. In addition, microphones were set up to play to people in the yard outside. MICHAEL TARBOR did most of the talking. He gave a brief background of the various workshops in connection with the creation of the constitution. Included in these workshops were the following:

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

---

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

Legal System

Political Prisons

A list of information centers was furnished and the constitution read.

On Sunday, November 29, 1970, a number of persons reassembled at the church. However, mostly white radicals were present. Again there was no formal meeting or announcements.

In general, the tenure of those present was the expression of a general disgust toward the United States Government and expressed preference for Communism. Since the black people were a minority, it was necessary for them, including those led by the BPP, to combine with the white radicals against the establishment. This group indicated a hope for support from Russia and other Marxist nations.

  
It was determined that the RPCC was described by those

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

---

in attendance as being a disorganized fiasco and most of the members from Winston-Salem were put to work on their arrival at such places as a medical clinic or typing, filing, and so forth.

On [REDACTED] a second source reported that JAMES ARTHUR POWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD McDONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the RPCC during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of [REDACTED] 1970, these two had not returned to Lumberton and there was some indication that a Panther member from New York will come with them when they do return.

Characterizations of SDS, YSA, and BPP are attached as appendices to this memorandum.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam War stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries, adventurous, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the Pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP which has been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's over-all revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bi-monthly magazine; "World Revolution", a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio", a monthly newspaper.

The April, 1969, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the people's fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women control their own homes and factories; where they themselves make up the entire government on every level and control the schools, courts, police and all institutions which are now used to control them."

Source advised on May 8, 1969, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

The "Daily Tar Heel," student newspaper published at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 7, 1968, published an article stating that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) would hold its first organizational meeting on November 7, 1968, at the University of North Carolina.

On February 20, 1969, a source advised the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee meeting on February 4, 1969, at New York City, approved the creation of a local Young Socialist Alliance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

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The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

APPENDIX



Reply, Please Refer to  
to No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina  
December 4, 1970

**Title**            REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL  
                     CONVENTION ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK  
                     PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

**Character**       RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

**Reference**       Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina,  
                     dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

The second source because insufficient contact has been had with this source to judge his reliability.

FBI

Date: 12/3/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-165707)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171 Sub G) (REC-73)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte teletype to Bureau, 10/30/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of LHM in captioned matter, copies of which are being disseminated locally to Military Intelligence Agencies and Secret Service.

All information contained in the LHM was obtained by SA [REDACTED] except contact with Secret Service which was accomplished by SA [REDACTED] Charlotte, N.C.

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 11)  
5 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171 Sub G)

TBM:egp  
(7)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC SER

DEPT ISD: IDIU SIDU, IRS

DATE FORW: DEC 10 1970

HOW FORW: PS

BY: [REDACTED]

REC-73

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Klan Unit

22 DEC 10 1970

EX-103

RACIAL INT. SEC.

DEC 19 1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
December 3, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS

The following information was obtained from [REDACTED]

On October 29, 1970, at a meeting of the Redevelopment Commission of the Municipality of the City of Lumberton, North Carolina, a group of Negroes claiming to be members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) disrupted a meeting of the Commission and one individual identified as SAM WILLIAMSON, using his finger, repeatedly struck the speaker, GERALD B. HILL, in the nose advising him that he was a fat pig and that he, WILLIAMSON, was going to kill all the fascist pigs and chop off HILL's head.

The meeting was disbanded because of the disruptive tactics on the part of this group of Negroes who alleged to be members of the BPP. Sometime thereafter, gunfire was directed at the private building housing the Redevelopment Commission and armed guards within the building returned the fire.

Police and deputies from the Sheriff's Office responded and three Negro males were seized at the scene of the shooting at the Commission Building, one of them carrying a 30.30 caliber rifle.

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105-1171-362  
ENCLOSURE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA

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It was noted that the SAM WILLIAMSON referred to above was the same SAM WILLIAMSON whose photograph appeared on page 2 of the Black Panther newspaper, October 17, 1970.

Chief of Police WILBUR LOVETTE, Lumberton, North Carolina, advised that a total of six arrests were made in conjunction with the aforementioned shooting and that all six defendants were tried and convicted. They are currently appealing their sentences.

GERALD B. HILL, Executive Director of the Redevelopment Commission of the Municipality of the City of Lumberton, North Carolina, advised as follows:

Approximately two weeks prior to the shooting incident, he was approached by a group of Negroes who stated they were members of the BPP and demanded that he make available to them a vacant building so they could provide a breakfast program for indigent Negro children and also to provide these children with a good meal after school.

HILL did not deny their request, but requested they give him some assurances as to who they represented, how the breakfast program was to be financed, and who was to be in charge. This information was denied and HILL was told that some of the brothers from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, would come down and talk to him.

Shortly thereafter, these individuals who alleged to be members of the BPP commenced harassment of his three female workers at the Redevelopment Commission's Office in the Negro area of Lumberton, North Carolina, 600 Fairmont Road. Members of the BPP commenced walking into the building, picking up items from the desks of the secretaries and dropping them on the floor and generally intimidating the girls. The girls requested they be moved from the Fairmont Road Building or given

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA

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some protection. As a result of this, HILL closed the building at 600 Fairmont Road and moved all operations of the Commission to another building whereby the girls would have better protection.

On October 29, 1970, Mr. HILL was in the process of discussing the Redevelopment Commission's program with a group of local Negro inhabitants when half a dozen young Negro males walked into the meeting, shouting "Black power, Power to the people, Death to the Fascist Pigs." These individuals demanded that the meeting start over so as they could hear what was going on.

SAM WILLIAMSON at this point seized control of the speaker's rostrum and stated that the constitution must be changed so the blacks have more power and the exploiters of the blacks be done away with. While WILLIAMSON was speaking, another Negro male, named JAMES POWERS, and other encircled Mr. HILL and started shoving him around. They shouted he was a fascist pig and they were going to kill the fascist pigs. More members of the BPP came into the meeting and at this point, SAM WILLIAMSON started to accuse HILL of being an exploiter of the people.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION. N.C.

Another individual by the name of WILLIE MC DOUGLAD took his finger and started to slap Mr. HILL on the nose, telling him that he was a fascist pig and an exploiter of the people and he was to be killed with all the fascist pigs.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

By this time, police had arrived and the meeting was effectively destroyed for the evening as a result of the disruptive tactics.

Representatives of the Secret Service, Military Intelligence, State and local authorities were advised of the above facts.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA

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A characterization of the Black Panther party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December 1966 in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is...by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

FBI

Date: 12/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

/ia AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8 )

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - CHARLOTTE  
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Los Angeles, dated 3/30/70/

On 12/3/70 the following information was  
received from SF T-22

On 12/3/70 BPP National Distribution Office,  
San Francisco, California, shipped BPP publications as follows:

Material shipped	"The Black Panther"
Quantity	7 boxes
Destination	Winston Salem, North Carolina
Shipping Information	Delta Air Lines #104, leaving SF 8:10 a.m., 12/3/70 & arriving Winston Salem 8:24 p.m.
Airbill Number	EX-115 14012411

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-1904)

KFM/rlg  
(6)

REC-73 105-165706-8-361

11 DEC 10 1970

54 DEC 18 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M P

RACIAL MATTER SECT.

Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of security statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but; whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.